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GROWTH AND STRUCTURE OF THE LEXICON OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

by
Peter Mühlhäusler

Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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The Secretary
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
G.P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2601
Australia.

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INTRODUCTION

This book is a slightly revised version of a Ph.D. thesis submitted at the Australian National University in April 1976. This will be evident from its format and style. However, a major revision seemed unwarranted as few matters of substance required restatement.

Since this thesis was submitted, I have carried out further fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, mainly on the urban varieties of New Guinea Pidgin (henceforth NGP), especially stylistic diversification in these varieties. My latest findings are generally in agreement with what I found earlier, though I am now able to give a better assessment of the currency and institutionalisation of certain expressions. Some of this information is contained in three articles that have since appeared (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1977, Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978 and Mühlhäusler 1977b).

In order to help people to find their way about the book, I have provided an overview and a guide to its various chapters. However, certain parts of this book still require an advanced level of linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge. *The Handbook of New Guinea Pidgin*, at present in preparation (Wurm, ed. with Mühlhäusler, Laycock and Dutton, forthcoming), will serve the purpose of providing a reference book which can be consulted more readily by the layman.

Let me briefly outline what I originally intended to do. I set out to give a straight linguistic account of the development of NGP's lexicon, in particular its word-formation component. This is the essence of Chapters 4 and 5, Chapter 4 discussing the developmental tendencies in the lexicon from its beginnings, Chapter 5 the final point reached, i.e. the available resources and word-formation in present-day NGP. Whilst Chapter 5 can be read separately without much reference to other parts of the book, Chapter 4 is best read together with Chapter 5. Some readers may find it useful to take note of the present-day situation before paying attention to the developments that have led to it.

The original aim was subsequently extended, i.e. it was decided to add the social to the temporal and descriptive dimensions. This was done because it seemed unnecessarily restrictive to account for the development of the lexicon in purely linguistic terms, using concepts such as substratum influence, naturalness and simplification, without taking into account the part played by the social context in its expansion. The growth of NGP's lexicon is seen on the one hand as the response to a number of internal pressures, whilst, on the other hand, specific changes are related to the pragmatics of the context in which the language is used. Thus, for instance, I have shown why, in a language and culture contact situation, certain possible linguistic developments were favoured over others. Moreover, I have acknowledged that to describe NGP's linguistic expansion merely as an increase in its referential potential would have been quite unsatisfactory. The development of new non-referential dimensions, as manifested in the development of new registers and sociolects, could not have been explained in this way. Thus, the account of NGP's socio-historical setting is more than just an appendix; it is essential reading for all those who are interested in more than the mere referential value of the language.

Another factor that led to a drastic increase in the size of this book was the desire for it to be relevant to the present-day socio-political situation in Papua New Guinea. Consequently, considerable attention was paid to an assessment of language policies and to the linguistic principles underlying language planning. The point of view adopted here is that there is nothing wrong with either external or internal language planning (cf. Wurm 1975b), as long as its social implications are clearly understood and it is based on a dynamic, and thus predictive, theory of language.

This then concludes the discussion of the general outlines of this book. For the remainder of this introduction I want to give a brief 'guided tour' through its individual chapters.

Chapter 1 provides introductory notes on the language and its speakers, a discussion of data sampling techniques and the corpus of data, as well as remarks on the organisation of the book. Here, as well as elsewhere in this book, it is argued that observational adequacy is of the utmost importance, not so much as an aim in itself but as a precondition for descriptively and explanatorily adequate accounts of NGP. I felt that I had to react against the widespread tendency in pidgin and creole studies to base abstract arguments and speculations on shaky data. Thus, with a few trivial exceptions, all examples quoted in the book were taken from my corpus.

It is acknowledged that observations cannot be made in a theoretical vacuum. Instead, they were made so as to throw light on hypotheses and claims made in recent linguistic and sociolinguistic work, in particular claims about the nature of variation and universals of pidginisation and creolisation.

Chapter 2 discusses in detail the methodological problems of describing pidgin languages and NGP. In particular, the problems in connection with linguistic variation along the temporal, spatial and social axes are examined. In addition, arguments in support of a lexicalist approach to the description of the derivational lexicon of NGP are put forward.

Perhaps the most important hypothesis posited in this chapter is that lexical items are a repository of various kinds of information. This idea can be used in a number of ways:

i) It can be shown that, in the formation process of a pidgin, different kinds of information tend to be borrowed from different sources. A close inspection of the borrowing process suggests that lexical syncretisms are the norm rather than the exception in language mixing.

ii) One can distinguish between unpredictable basic information and information accounted for by regularities of the derivational lexicon. A number of arguments are given to the effect that one can distinguish between lexical bases, containing unpredictable information only, and derived lexical items, part of whose information can be recovered by referring to the programs of multifunctionality, compounding and reduplication.

Chapter 3 deals with the socio-historical setting of NGP. The chapter is subdivided into a discussion of the external history, the history of language policies and attitudes and the external context of present-day variation. On the basis of the social functions and status of the speakers of NGP, five stages in the life-cycle and four main social varieties of this language are distinguished.

Again, observational adequacy was the main concern here. The observations were guided by the consideration that the structure of NGP is related to i) the various functions in which the language is used, ii) the domains in which the language is used, and iii) external influences, such as language policies and language planning.

Apart from providing a considerable amount of new information, I have tried to amend the inadequacies inherent in many earlier accounts of NGP's socio-historical setting. Whilst examining NGP's past it became increasingly clear that outside influences played an important

part in its early history. Thus, there is growing evidence that the language did not stabilise in New Guinea but was brought there from Samoa in a virtually stabilised form. This could be confirmed by data obtained during fieldwork in Samoa.

Chapter 4 discusses the linguistic properties of the lexicon of NGP in relation to the five main stages of its life cycle, its social varieties, its regional varieties, and its stylistic levels, pointing out the relationship between these varieties.

An examination of a very large body of data appeared to confirm that the various functionally determined stages in NGP's development are paralleled by quantitatively and qualitatively different linguistic (sub-)systems. This principle is illustrated with reference to NGP's derivational lexicon. A distinction is made between the sources of the lexicon and the various ways in which the source materials are integrated into and developed within the lexicon of NGP. Under normal conditions, borrowing can be shown to be a selective process. Only in recent years has increased contact with the principal lexifier language, English, led to unsystematic borrowing, presumably a result of the prestige attached to English in Papua New Guinea.

Changes in social conditions have not only led to an expansion of the language but also to a diversification along the geographic, social and situational dimensions. The emergence of new lects appears to benefit the integrative and expressive functions of the language more than its communicative possibilities. This development is potentially detrimental to the principal function of NGP, i.e. that of a lingua franca in a nation that speaks several hundred languages.

Chapter 5 gives an exhaustive treatment of the derivational lexicon of Rural Pidgin, the principal variety of NGP. The three main derivational processes, multifunctionality, compounding, and reduplication are analysed and illustrated with a large set of examples. The ambiguous character of the derivational lexicon is reflected in the large number of regularities (programs) governing changes in lexical information on the one hand, and the important role of lexicalisations and conventions on the other.

Contrary to what one would expect for a pidgin language, the simplicity of the derivational lexicon is reduced by many complex restrictions on the application of lexical programs. A comparison with the previous chapter will show that simplification characterises the expansion and creolisation stages of NGP's life cycle rather than its initial stages. It is also noted that the presence of a powerful derivational lexicon distinguishes NGP from virtually all other pidgins and many creoles.

Chapter 6 deals with the linguistic future of NGP, in particular with proposals about vocabulary planning. The role of vocabulary planning is seen as that of providing new lexical items in a phase of rapid functional expansion of this language, whilst keeping intact its lexical structures.

It is extremely fortunate that NGP has a powerful derivational lexicon. The introduction of new lexical material from outside sources can thus be restricted to those instances where no structural conflict arises. Creation of new lexical items from internal resources is not only in agreement with the developmental tendencies of the language but also has the additional advantage of increasing its simplicity.

Since the framework of reference of this book is dynamic-developmental, no conflict between linguistic description and language planning arises. Such conflict is the result of a static synchronic approach. Once the dynamics of the system are understood, language planning is mainly prediction, i.e. it anticipates natural developments. At the same time, a dynamic approach also provides the possibility of assessing those consequences of language planning that are not in agreement with the developmental trends. Language planning for NGP can profit from both these new theoretical insights and from the experience of other nations. The chances that it can be successfully carried out are therefore high.

Chapter 7 contains the principal findings and conclusions. It is argued that an understanding of the nature of NGP can only be attained once diachronic developments and synchronic variation are related to one another and to the social context in which the language is used.

I am aware of the fact that an integrated sociolinguistic theory is not at hand. However, the findings presented here can be employed to strengthen the empirical foundations for such a theory. In my opinion, such a theory should not only be capable of solving problems in linguistic theory but also the day-to-day problems of speakers and speech communities.

An appendix containing the originals of German quotations is attached.

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Though many people have helped me with this study, I alone bear the responsibility for any of its shortcomings.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

a) abbreviations used in linguistic description:

adj	adjective, adjectival
adj_{num}	number adjective
adv	adverb, adverbial
adv_{manner}	adverb, adverbial of manner
CP	compounding, compound
MF	multifunctionality, multifunctional
N	noun, nominal
N_{abs}	abstract noun, nominal
N_{anim}	animate noun, nominal
N_{concr}	concrete noun, nominal
N_{hum}	noun, nominal referring to human being
N_{loc}	noun, nominal referring to locality
prep	preposition
RD	reduplication, reduplicated
V	verb, verbal
V_{caus}	causative verb, verbal
V_{int}	intransitive verb, verbal
V_{rec}	reciprocal verb, verbal
V_{tr}	transitive verb, verbal

b) other abbreviations:

CM	Catholic Mission
D.H. & P.G.	Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft
DKZ	Deutsche Kolonialzeitung
E.H.P.	Eastern Highlands Province

Eng.	English
E.S.P.	East Sepik Province
Ger.	German
Mal.	Coastal Malay
NGP	New Guinea Pidgin
PNG	Papua New Guinea
SPP	Samoan Plantation Pidgin
Tol.	Tolai
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea

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C-52, xx + 518 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1979. DOI:*10.15144/PL-C52.cover*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. GENERAL REMARKS

This introductory chapter summarises the results and methods employed in a study of New Guinea Pidgin[1] (henceforth NGP), a variety of Pacific Pidgin English spoken in Papua New Guinea.

The study is concerned with only one sub-component of NGP grammar, namely the lexicon. This limitation in scope was motivated by a number of considerations, the principal one being the conviction that a detailed analysis of a small aspect of NGP grammar will contribute more to the understanding of the socio-historical processes involved in the development and functioning of this language, and pidgin languages in general, than an abstract and simplified description of the overall structures of NGP as they manifest themselves at all levels of grammar. Moreover a more general reference book on this language is now in preparation (Wurm, ed. with Mühlhäusler, Laycock and Dutton, forthcoming) with the present author as one of the contributors.

In more than one way this study is an elaboration of some of the central thoughts and hypotheses contained in an earlier M.Phil. thesis (Mühlhäusler 1972), though experience with first-hand data and an examination of more recent work on pidgins and creoles have resulted in an entirely new concept of pidgins rather than a mere restatement

[1] This language is also known as Tok Pisin, Neo-Melanesian, Melanesian Pidgin English and Tok-Boi. Other names found in earlier sources include Tok-Waitman and Tok-Kokopo. The name Nuginian is used by a few writers, including Balint (1973:2-32). The question of finding an appropriate name for this language has been discussed in a number of places, most recently by Laycock (1975a:46). Since this issue has not been settled, the most neutral name of New Guinea Pidgin, abbreviated NGP, has been chosen by the author. The neutrality of this name lies not only in the absence of emotional content but also in the fact that it is neutral - unlike terms such as Tok-Boi - with regard to the changes in status of this language in the course of its history.

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of the author's earlier position. In particular, the hypothesis that simplification is the principal force in natural second language acquisition and the development of pidgin languages is regarded as too restrictive. Though the present study will not remain the last word on NGP, it is hoped that it will serve as a stepping stone for future scientific research into this until now only sketchily described language.

1.2. NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

NGP is the cover term for a number of varieties of Pidgin English spoken in the geographical area of Papua New Guinea. According to the 1971 census figures the language is spoken by about 700,000 out of a total of about 2,000,000 persons over the age of ten, and there is a considerable number of younger speakers who use NGP either as their first language or together with their first language.

As a result of political and historical developments, NGP is most firmly established in those areas of Papua New Guinea occupied by the former Trust Territory of New Guinea, an originally German colony administered by Australia since the First World War. However, in recent years NGP has made considerable inroads into Papua, although Hiri Motu remains the dominant lingua franca there.[1]

The principal function of NGP is that of a lingua franca, not so much between Europeans and Papua New Guineans, but between members of the over 700 different language groups found in Papua New Guinea. Creolised NGP is spoken by a small minority, mainly in urban centres. Census figures indicate that 67,000 males and 25,000 females use NGP as their home language, though it is likely that this number will rise as it continues to replace the traditional vernaculars.

NGP is closely related to other Melanesian varieties of Pacific Pidgin English such as Samoan Plantation Pidgin (henceforth SPP), Solomon Islands Pidgin and Bichelamar, spoken in the New Hebrides (cf. Wurm 1971b and Clark 1977). It is less directly related to the many English pidgins and creoles spoken all over the world. NGP, in many ways, occupies a special position among these languages, its status being attributable to a number of factors:

i) The whole spectrum of NGP's development from a contact jargon to a fully-fledged creole is found synchronically in the various social and regional varieties of this language.

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[1] It appears that, contrary to earlier indications, Hiri Motu is still in a strong position in many areas of Papua and that NGP is often used together with rather than instead of this language.

ii) The transition between the pidgin and creole varieties of NGP is gradual rather than sudden; we find considerable structural expansion of the pidgin preceeding its creolisation.

iii) In contrast with most English-derived pidgins and creoles, NGP is in a strong position *vis-à-vis* English and is likely to become one of the national languages of Papua New Guinea.

The special status of NGP brings both advantages and disadvantages for the investigator. On the debit side is the danger of making generalisations about pidgins and creoles from NGP on the assumption that this language is a typical member of the class pidgins, on the credit side is the great challenge to the linguist and sociolinguist of testing their theories against the complex reality of NGP.

It is the complexity of this language, with its many subsystems, its variability and its ambiguities, which has fascinated the present author from the onset of his studies in this language. It has, however, meant that in spite of many valuable studies of certain aspects of this language, there remain many features of its structure and social function which are only poorly understood. The present study is not intended to provide answers to all the questions which can be asked about NGP or even about its lexicon, nor will all the answers given stand the test of time. Though great care has been taken to avoid unwarranted generalisations and ready-made answers, the interpretation of the observed data will be open to debate.[1] It is for this reason, among others, that the data themselves will figure prominently throughout the text.

1.3. THE DATA

1.3.1. *GENERAL REMARKS*

When the author began fieldwork in Papua New Guinea he was faced with the problems encountered by all those who set out to describe a poorly known language, as well as some stemming from the fact that NGP is a pidgin.

The main aim of the data-collecting stage of the investigation was to carry out a preliminary one-man survey of NGP to determine, within limits imposed by such factors as time, availability of informants and the fact that it was by-and-large a single-handed job, the extent of social and geographical variation found in this language. Since very

[1] Since pidgins and creoles arise out of linguistic conflict situations, the investigator can expect areas of uncertainty and confusion in their structure. The implications for linguistic analysis are only just being explored, for instance, by Reisman (1975).

little was known about this, one of the first aims was to make observations and recordings of a maximal number of speakers from diverse geographical and social backgrounds in a large number of communicative situations. These field observations were supplemented with a study of a wide range of written NGP. This pilot study was carried out during the first period of fieldwork from December 1972 to May 1973.

This preliminary survey resulted in an initial subclassification of NGP into a number of social and regional varieties (Mühlhäusler 1977b, 1975e) and in a decision to concentrate, for the remainder of the fieldwork (from December 1973 to March 1974), on two varieties, namely Rural Pidgin as spoken in the New Guinea Lowlands (Sepik and Madang Provinces) and creolised NGP as spoken in Malabang village on Manus Island. The decision to concentrate the investigations on these varieties was motivated mainly by the fact that both Lowlands Pidgin and Manus creolised NGP are structurally the most stable and sophisticated varieties, with Lowlands Pidgin becoming increasingly accepted as the basis for standardisation of both written and spoken NGP.[1]

The total 40 weeks of fieldwork can be broken down, with regard to the varieties studied, as follows:

Rural Pidgin in Sepik and Madang Provinces	20 weeks
Work on creolised NGP in Manus and Madang	5 weeks
Highlands Pidgin	3 weeks
Bush Pidgin in West and East Sepik Provinces	4 weeks
NGP spoken in the Gazelle Peninsula	4 weeks
Urban Pidgin in various urban centres	4 weeks

The study was supplemented with information gained during a two-week visit to Western Samoa to investigate remnants of SPP. The data obtained in Samoa, together with that from very old informants in Papua New Guinea, illustrate NGP as it was spoken shortly after the turn of this century.

In carrying out the fieldwork a number of sampling techniques were used with the aim of reducing certain inadequacies which have hampered progress in the description of NGP and which are prevalent in most studies of pidgins and creoles. As noted by Kay and Sankoff (1974:61):

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[1] Lowlands Pidgin as spoken in the Madang area is used, for instance, in the largest and most circulated book ever published in NGP, the *New Testament*, first published in 1969. Two courses published recently (Sadler 1973a and 1973b) are based exclusively on Madang Pidgin. Both Wurm (1975a) and Sankoff (1975a:102-7) come out in favour of a broader basis for standard NGP.

> ... grammatical data on contact vernaculars tend to be poor and unreliable and their study requires a rigorous methodology which is still in process of development.

Labov has listed these inadequacies:

> ... the data actually reported by creolists is still very far from the speech of everyday life. The texts are often folk tales, reminiscences of old times, or composition, or manufactured compositions. Occasional remarks are quoted from house boys addressing Europeans. Most often, examples are given without any documentation at all .... We must include recordings of conversations between equals and samples of speech from extended participant-observation in the speech-community. Formal interviews are essential, but even the best face-to-face interviews must be correlated with group recordings in which speech is controlled by the factors which operate when the linguist is no longer there.
>
> (Labov 1971a:14)

1.3.2. *DATA SAMPLING TECHNIQUES*

In an effort to arrive at more representative data a number of techniques were used. These will now be discussed in their order of importance.

i) Informal Observations

Prior to fieldwork the author acquired a working knowledge of NGP from an intensive language laboratory course[1] and the study of available reference grammars and descriptions. This, coupled with instruction from informants, enabled him to follow NGP discourse almost right from the beginning. He lived among the village people, took part in their daily activities and felt accepted into the wantok[2] system found among the NGP-speaking community.

Examples of the situations in which informal observation was carried out include council meetings, group discussions on local and political issues, children's play, relaxed conversations in hotels, games rooms and social centres, court sessions, market transactions, conversations between PMV[3] drivers and their passengers, discussions among university students, instructions given to and conversations carried out by the

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[1] The course followed was a preliminary version of Dutton (1973) supported by the study of Laycock (1970a) and Wurm (1971a).

[2] Mihalic (1971:202) glosses wantok as *'one who speaks the same language, one who is of the same nationality, one who is from the same country, a neighbour'*. In its widest meaning it refers to someone with whom one can speak NGP, frequently with the implication that wantoks share interests and mutual obligations. Solidarity rather than race or origin determine the appropriateness of the use of wantok. Members of the same first language background are referred to as wantokples rather than wantok.

[3] Abbreviation standing for Public Motor Vehicle. PMVs are light trucks which are licenced to carry passengers as well as cargo.

labour lines on plantations, conversations at table, church services, theatre performances, conversations between masters and servants and between patients and medical orderlies in rural aid posts and baby-clinics, school room activities in Pisin-skuls and singing and chatting after work. Sometimes the author participated in these situations, otherwise they were recorded on tape or in a notebook.

The aim of this method of informal observation was not merely to get 'the feel' of the language but also to arrive at some systematic observations about the functioning of NGP in its social context.

ii) Tape Recordings

About 80 hours of discourse was recorded in the field and rough transcriptions using standardised spelling were made of approximately half of this. It is intended to publish some of these materials in a separate volume. The recorded materials involved an approximately equal proportion of formal and informal situations, with story-telling figuring prominently in the former category. During the recording sessions notes about the speakers, situational context and other relevant information pertaining to the interpretation of the material were made by the author.

In addition, other linguists supplied recordings, including examples of Rural Pidgin as spoken in the Madang Province collected by Dr J.A. Z'graggen, transcripts of Urban Pidgin and creolised Urban Pidgin collected by Professor G. Sankoff, texts of Sepik and Bougainville NGP collected by Dr D.C. Laycock, and materials of Highlands Pidgin collected by Professor S.A. Wurm. Broadcasts by Radios Wewak, Rabaul and Mount Hagen were also recorded. Towards the end of his collection of recorded materials the author found that, though of great interest for the understanding of other aspects of NGP, they were rapidly approaching a point of limited return for lexical studies.

iii) Formal Interviews

Formal interviews were used to confirm the preliminary lexical analysis made between the first and the second main periods of fieldwork rather than as a means of eliciting entirely new information. The reluctance to rely too heavily on elicitation was motivated by two factors:

a) As NGP is not the first language of the majority of its users one cannot employ the intuitions of native speaker/hearers as with non-pidgin languages. It should be noted, however, that more than half of the formal interviews were carried out with speakers for whom NGP was either the main or the native language.

b) Formal elicitation brings with it a strong element of unnaturalness. Most Papua New Guineans are unaware of the aim of the technique and tend to agree with the session-leader about, for example, an NGP usage, even in those cases where disagreement is obviously called for. However, the author was fortunate to encounter a number of keen informants who came forward with valuable information about the language. Informants in their early twenties with some experience of life outside the village were generally the most suitable helpers in formal interviewing.

iv) Examination of written NGP

The two main types of written materials investigated were unedited letters, notices, etc. and edited publications. Since the latter are influenced typically by either the language from which they were translated (usually English, and very evident in the case of Government publications) or by the grammatical standards of the main publishing agencies of Kristen Pres of Madang and Wirui Pres of Wewak, they should not be taken as representative of NGP without further qualification. Unedited letters and notices, on the other hand, read much more like normal spoken NGP.

The following materials were considered in the examination of written NGP:

a) Edited Publications

Newspapers and Journals - *Frend bilong mi, Lae Garamut, Rabaul News, Wantok* newspaper, *Wastaua, Poroman, Nius bilong Yumi, Luksave.*

Government publications - leaflets dealing with agriculture, regional and national politics, health, tourism and road safety.

Creative writing - short stories, poems and plays published in *Papua New Guinea Writing.*[1]

Mission publications - bible translations, tracts, treatises and booklets dealing with agriculture, health, recreational activities and schooling, such as are published in great numbers by the various mission bodies operating in Papua New Guinea.

Pamphlets dropped over Papua New Guinea by the Japanese and Allied Forces during the Second World War.[2]

The author has made a large collection of all these materials, though he has used the data therein as supportive rather than primary evidence in his analysis.

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[1] A survey of creative writing in NGP has been made by Laycock (1977).

[2] A large collection of these pamphlets is kept in the library of the Australian War Museum in Canberra.

b) Unedited Materials

These consist mainly of about 800 unpublished readers' letters to *Wantok* newspaper, made available by its editor Fr F. Mihalic. These letters, whose writers come from very varied social and regional backgrounds and generally state their origin, contain a wealth of information about present-day NGP. Additional materials comprised about 50 private letters written to the author and various members of the A.N.U., as well as copies of announcements found in village trade stores, on the markets and in public places.

Unedited materials proved very valuable for a lexical analysis, containing many non-standard and new forms, the non-standard spelling giving insight into the intuition of NGP speakers about matters such as morphological relatedness and the acceptability of innovations.[1] The systematic use of lexical synonymy to overcome regional and social differences was found to be more common in written NGP than in any other level of style. In addition to providing new data, these materials were used to test predictions about systematic and accidental lexical gaps in NGP.

v) Examination of Earlier Grammars, Vocabularies and Dictionaries

Because of the scarcity of first-hand data on the earlier stages of NGP's development, grammars, vocabularies and dictionaries such as have been compiled by various agencies from the mid-1920s have been used as supportive evidence in the diachronic description of NGP. These have provided useful insights into earlier varieties of this language, though they do not provide the full picture of NGP's lexical development. As a rule, the author has not relied on more recent lexical materials for his analysis since it was found that recently published dictionaries fell short of being exhaustive and observationally adequate accounts of the lexicon of present-day NGP.

vi) Scrutiny of Travel Descriptions and Similar Sources

It was found that much of the material relevant to an analysis of the earlier stages of NGP was tucked away in works dealing with a variety of aspects of Papua New Guinea rather than with specifically linguistic topics. Thus, a detailed study was made both of books written in German times (1884-1919) and others written in the inter-war period (1919-1942). The reliability of this data is generally low but, when merged with that collected by the author in Western Samoa and from

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[1] *Ad hoc* innovations are often found in the original English spelling whilst the spelling of established lexical items typically follows the writers intuitions about phonetic representation.

speakers who learnt NGP at an early stage of its linguistic development, a fair picture of the early development of the language could be obtained.

vii) The Linguistic Intuitions of the Author

Though the author regards his own linguistic competence in NGP as being comparable to that of a fluent second-language NGP speaker he has refrained from using his own intuitions as a means of testing his hypotheses about the lexicon of NGP, though he has relied on these intuitions in the construction of such hypotheses. Thus, all but some very trivial examples quoted in this study are based on the corpus of materials collected during fieldwork in Papua New Guinea.

The data used and the method of their collection indicate that this work is only a pilot study of one aspect of the grammar of NGP. Though based on a much larger and more articulate corpus of data than any previous study of NGP, it is still far from meeting the ideal. A single investigator in such a brief period of time could not hope to achieve this.

Yet, despite many obvious shortcomings, the data on which this linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis is based have made it possible to arrive at a number of interesting insights into NGP.

1.4. CENTRAL AIMS AND ORGANISATION

The title of this study suggests two main aims, namely a description of the internal growth of NGP and a synopsis of the current structures of its lexicon. The term 'pidgin' is thus seen as a dynamic rather than a static concept, the diachronic and synchronic aspects of the NGP lexicon being regarded as two aspects of a unitary phenomenon called NGP rather than as a dichotomy.

The argument to be presented in the following pages is meant to answer a number of questions about NGP and pidgin languages in general:

i) How does a pidgin develop from an impoverished jargon into a fully-fledged language and, more specifically, how is this development reflected in the lexical component of grammar?

ii) What lexical regularities enable the user of NGP to express a large number of concepts with a very restricted number of lexical bases?

Subordinate to these questions are several concerning the socio-historical description of NGP:

iii) What insights can a lexical description of NGP provide for the language planner?

iv) What was the external history of NGP?

v) What statements can be made about the geographical and social variation of NGP both diachronically and synchronically?

vi) What can a lexical description tell us about NGP's relationship with its principal lexifier languages?

The need for a study of the internal linguistic development of pidgin languages has been stressed by a number of writers, e.g.:

> We do possess historical linguistic studies, but they usually only treat the external linguistic history: the circumstances under which the Creole languages were born and developed. The internal linguistic development is mostly not taken into consideration for lack of reliable records. This is an unhappy situation, particularly because we talk so much about the process of creolization but know so little about it.
>
> (J. Voorhoeve 1961:99)

More recently Todd (1974a:15) has stated:

> No one has described or illustrated the stages a pidgin goes through in its expansion from a restricted auxiliary language into one which is capable of fulfilling all the linguistic needs of its speakers.

This lack of adequate diachronic descriptions has impeded our understanding of the concepts 'pidgin' and 'creole'. It is the author's conviction that the contributions which pidgin and creole studies can make to a general theory of human language are heavily dependent on the amount of empirical data-based research.

The analysis of the internal history of the NGP lexicon presented here tests earlier statements about the origin and development of pidgin languages against the evidence suggested by a large - but admittedly incomplete - corpus of data. It is hoped that similar descriptions of lexical growth in other pidgins and creoles will become available soon. This would allow more definite statements about the uniqueness, saliency and universality of the processes involved.

The outcome of the various diachronic developments is a highly structured lexicon. The lexicon of present-day NGP is regarded not as a mere list of irregularities but as a sub-component of grammar which possesses the power to generate and correctly interpret new lexical items using a limited set of lexical bases (the lexical inventory) and a number of rules and regularities. Compared to its lexifier languages[1] the lexicon of NGP exhibits a higher degree of structural simplicity,

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[1] The term 'lexifier language' refers to languages which have contributed to the lexical inventory and system of NGP. The author has chosen this neutral term instead of using the term 'base-language'. Pidgin languages can have more than one lexifier language.

a fact which has not received sufficient attention from previous observers. The simplicity of the lexical system is manifested in lexical redundancy conventions and in regularities underlying the formation of new lexical items.

The synchronic description presented in this study will concern itself mainly with the regularities underlying the formation of lexical items, i.e. multifunctionality, compounding and reduplication. An exhaustive treatment of the regularities underlying these processes indicates what makes a limited lexicon go a long way.

NGP is now at a crucial stage of its linguistic development and present discussion about its role in Papua New Guinea society abounds with conflicting statements about its adequacy and proposals aimed at enriching or changing the language. It will be argued that the question of NGP's referential adequacy and the related question of language planning can only be meaningfully discussed once the generative power of this language is fully understood.

Pidgins and creoles are social as well as linguistic phenomena. It has been maintained throughout this book that a linguistic description of the NGP lexicon must be embedded in and meaningfully related to the socio-historical processes which have provided the situational stimuli for the growth and character of this language. A knowledge of the socio-historical setting is essential to our understanding of the origin of NGP, its subsequent development and its contemporary manifestation in a number of socially determined varieties.

An examination of source materials and fieldwork carried out in Samoa has led to a far-reaching revision of earlier accounts of NGP's origins and its relation to other varieties of Pacific Pidgin English. The account of NGP in the years of German control also differs considerably from earlier views on this point, whereas the account of NGP's history after 1919 is basically the result of original research by the author.

Development of NGP along different lines in different social and geographical settings has resulted in a number of varieties of this language. The main social and linguistic, particularly lexical, properties of these varieties will be discussed, though the description of NGP's lexical system will be based mainly on the variety called Rural Pidgin.

An understanding of the socio-historical setting will make it possible to meaningfully ask questions such as that of the grammatical and lexical affiliation of NGP. It will be shown that these affiliations change with both historical depth and differentiation into social varieties, a

fact often ignored when putting the question as to the genetic affiliation of pidgin languages.

The organisation of this study has been motivated mainly by pragmatic considerations. The distinction between diachronic and synchronic description, for instance, does not imply that such a distinction can and should be made in all cases, nor does the author want to give the impression that the usual division between competence and performance should be rigorously upheld. Such compartmentalisation is partly neutralised by the use of cross-references. However, abstractions and idealisations of the kind made in the organisation of the subject matter are unavoidable.

The book will comprise the following chapters:

1) Introduction
2) Methodological preliminaries and descriptive framework
3) The socio-historical setting of NGP
4) The nature of the NGP lexicon
5) The formation of lexical items in present-day Rural Pidgin
6) Vocabulary planning for NGP
7) Conclusions

These chapters are divided into subchapters, which in turn contain sections, which are further divided into subsections. Subchapters are indicated by two numerals (e.g. 1.1.), sections by three numerals and subsections by four.

A more detailed account of the structure of the arguments to be presented can be found in the table of contents.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES AND THE DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The study of pidgin and creole languages has found itself in a phase of radical rethinking for the last five years or so, a result of the impact of sociolinguistic studies in this field and on linguistic theory in general. The old paradigm of 'static' linguistics, with its neat separation of diachronic and synchronic aspects, competence and performance and its preoccupation with abstract descriptions of the competence of the ideal speaker/hearer, is making way for a new dynamic paradigm in which these distinctions no longer constitute meaningful concepts in linguistic argumentation.[1]

It is no accident that the main proponents of the new paradigm, including Labov, C.-J.N. Bailey, DeCamp and Bickerton, got many of their inspirations from the study of pidgin and creole languages.[2] Many have pointed out the reasons for this, summed up by Hymes (1971:299) as follows:

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[1] A more detailed characterisation of this new paradigm can be found in an article by C.-J.N. Bailey (1971:312-38). It must be stressed that, though significant progress has been made in recent years, particularly in the field of pidgin and creole studies, no integrated theory accounting for the multitude of observations and proposals made within this paradigm is at hand.

[2] This development was foreshadowed by LePage in an introduction to B.L. Bailey's grammar of Jamaican Creole (1966:xi-xii):

> The descriptive analysis of an idiolect at any given moment may reveal a great many overlapping systems, some of which are coming to the end of a period of change, others just beginning. The descriptive analyst freezes for a moment what is in fact a highly dynamic system, and describes it in static terms. The quantum mechanics era in linguistics has not yet arrived, but I believe that the study of Creole languages will help it forward, since it appears generally true that the kinetic energy within creole systems is greater than that within older systems.

> Pidgins and creoles challenge conventional forms of linguistic description, just as they challenge conventional modes of linguistic history. How, and whether, processes of change have given rise to pidgins and creoles - the questions of origin - have attracted more attention, but the needs of language policy and education, together with new currents in linguistic theory, now bring description questions rapidly to the fore.
>
> The major topics are two: language situations and the linguistic systems, or, varieties and variation. Once established, pidgins and creoles may give rise to further varieties, functionally specialized, and may give rise to individual and community linguistic systems of special complexity.

The proposals put forward by the advocates of a new paradigm for linguistic descriptions are concerned primarily with the problem of adequately describing linguistic continua such as are typically found in creole situations where a creole coexists with its original lexifier language, and where systems intermediate between the basilectal creole and the superimposed standard language can be pointed out. The author has no doubt that the many aspects of these mesolectal systems can be adequately handled with descriptive techniques using polylectal rules (e.g. Bickerton 1973:640-69).

The investigator of pidgin languages is, in many ways, in a much less fortunate position than the creolist with regard to the data he sets out to describe.[1] The very fact that pidgins either have no native speakers or only a small community of them brings a number of special problems not encountered in the study of 'normal' languages:

1) The degree of competence[2] in a pidgin may range over a wide spectrum from imperfectly mastered versions of a contact language to near-native and native mastery.

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[1] Some years ago DeCamp pointed out that, whilst reliable information is available about stable pidgins and creoles at the height of their life-cycle, "the beginning and the end of this cycle are shrouded in uncertainty" (1971b:349). Since this statement was made a number of authors have dealt with the end of the life-cycle, i.e. the development of linguistic continua between basilectal creoles and their superimposed lexifier languages. Very little work has been done on the beginning of the life-cycle, i.e. the structurally unstable jargons preceding a stable pidgin. One reason for this may be that variability found at the beginning of a pidgin's life-cycle is more random than that found at its end, and quite definitely an individual rather than a social phenomenon. Generalisations about this stage will therefore turn out to be vague and lacking in predictive power.

[2] The term 'competence' is used in a non-technical sense. The present author is not committed to a distinction between competence and performance such as advocated by structural or transformationalist theories of language. The status of the term 'competence' has been subjected to an extensive discussion which cannot be expanded upon here. A recent paper by Bonney and Redding (1975) discusses the controversy surrounding the concept. The notion of 'lexical competence' used in this study is meant to include a speaker's ability to make statements about the status of lexical items as part of NGP and about lexical relatedness between lexical items, together with his ability to partly interpret new lexical items by referring to certain lexical programs and redundancy rules.

ii) The varieties found at the lower end of this spectrum do not constitute independent linguistic systems but have to be interpreted in terms of a speaker's native language.

iii) Contact with the original lexifier language may vary a great deal for different speakers, influencing the pidgin to varying degrees.

Thus a language such as NGP is not merely a set of meaningfully ordered subsystems or a continuum located on a single dimension but a collection of linguistically distinct systems. From a diachronic point of view also, the continuity encountered in normal language change is lacking or, at least, present to a much smaller degree.[1] In view of this complex linguistic situation no study of a pidgin can be expected to reflect all aspects of such a language. However, as long as the limitations of the approach adopted are made explicit, this need not be a disadvantage. What is important is to arrive at linguistically and socially significant classifications of varieties and descriptions which can be regarded as representative of the kind of pidgin found within these classes. In view of the scarcity of resources and manpower in fieldwork preliminary to the description of pidgins, this seems to be the only realistic approach.[2]

In the following subchapters some of the most prominent methodological problems faced in the present investigation will be discussed. This discussion will be followed by a general outline of the descriptive framework adopted in this book.

2.2. LINGUISTIC VARIETIES AND LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF NGP

The fact that NGP is not the mother-tongue or first language of the majority of its users raises some questions about the relationship between the primary data and the linguistic description. The first to draw attention to this fact was Hall (1943b:9):

> ... in the absence of native speakers, Pidgin does not present the same constant features of pronunciation and grammatical usage as do major languages; this lack of full consistency extends not only to pronunciation, which is influenced strongly by any speaker's native speech habits, but even to such basic features of grammatical structure

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[1] Cf. the following remark by Hoenigswald (1971:476): "More than in the case of natural languages one expects to run into problems of identity from stage to stage."

[2] Complex situations of the type outlined here are peculiar to long-established and functionally expanded pidgins. The situation of NGP appears to be similar to that of Pidgin English in West Africa. A concise account of the situation there can be found in Christophersen's review (1973:51-8).

> as the use of bound forms and predicate-markers. It is not possible to consider either English or Melanesian speakers' usage as furnishing exclusively valid material for analysis.

More recently Nagara (1972:11), in the introduction of his description of Japanese Pidgin English in Hawaii, has elaborated on this point:

> By definition, a pidgin language does not have any native speakers, but it is possible that there are speakers who possess a nativelike command of a pidgin language. However, it is very difficult to decide precisely what degree of proficiency constitutes a nativelike command of the pidgin language because a pidgin language is invariably a makeshift language which has arisen out of language contact, and the prescriptive norms of its linguistic structure are very ambiguous.

With regard to NGP, some further distinctions must be introduced in order to arrive at a clearer picture of its status as a second language. It has been suggested by Nagara, and this fact is confirmed by investigations into other pidgin languages, that the competence exhibited by various members of a pidgin speaking community cannot simply be reduced to a common denominator of 'second language'.[1]

Both linguistic and sociolinguistic observations suggest the importance of distinguishing between unstable, individual solutions to multilingual communication and stable, socially sanctioned solutions, termed **jargons** and **pidgins** in this book. Elsewhere they have been referred to as **multilingual idiolects** and **real pidgins** (Labov 1971a: 15, 16) and **secondary** and **tertiary hybridisations** (Whinnom 1971:97ff). Labov characterises a jargon as follows:

> ... there are isolated individuals who never learn this social pattern, but work out their own form of cross linguistic expression. .... These individuals often work out a very ingenious and original mode of expression, combining their perfect knowledge of their native vernacular with an imperfect grasp of the several other languages spoken in this new environment. We may even be able to write grammars for their multilingual idiolect. But whatever regularity their rules show, these idioms are far less regular than pidgins - and much harder to understand.
>
> (1971a:15-6)

A true pidgin, on the other hand, is largely independent of the bilingual skills of individuals:

> Though the pidgins will show considerable variation in pronunciation, reflecting the native language of the speaker, it is easy to show that they have regular, socially sanctioned grammars. Such grammars are shaped by a very large number of cross-cutting individual transactions. Pidgins are thus social rather than individual solutions to the problem of cross-cultural communication. (Labov 1971a:15)

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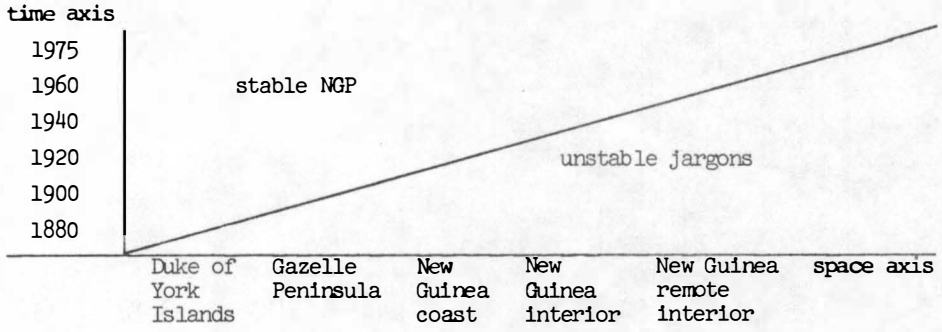
[1] No comprehensive account of the role of second-language learning in pidginisation and the subsequent development of pidgin languages is available at present. The present author has discussed this question in some detail elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1974: 53-61).

The locus of jargons and true pidgin in the dynamic entity referred to as NGP is a function of degrees of remoteness in time and space, jargons being found as these features increase:

> This means nothing else but that with the continuous spread of Pidgin, its linguistic history is repeated, so that, for instance, the contact situation in a very remote area today resembles that of a developed area fifty years ago. The linguistic phenomena encountered, too, are very similar in kind. In its expansion Pidgin has become repeatedly pidginized and brought back to the norm that had developed in the meantime.
>
> (Mühlhäusler 1975e:62)[1]

An important difference, however, is that today the linguistic norms of a stable NGP determine the direction in which the unstable jargon will develop. The relation between linguistic stability and temporal and spatial factors can be illustrated as follows:



Structurally, the jargons in early NGP and in remote areas in present-day Papua New Guinea can be characterised as inter-language systems or developmental continua (cf. Corder 1977:13-5). In the same way as one speaks of post-pidgin continua developing when a stable pidgin finds itself in continued and intensive contact with its original lexifier language (as when NGP is exposed to structural influence from 'Standard' English), one can speak of pre-pidgin continua located between such jargons and a stabilised NGP.[2]

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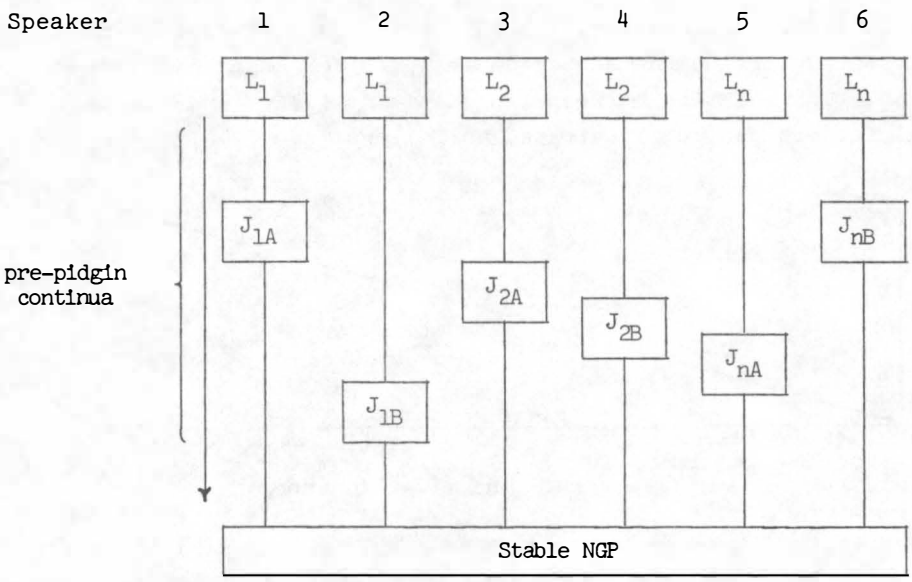
[1] It is not only the internal but also the external history of pidgins which is repeated along these parameters, a fact which is of considerable importance to historical linguists:

> The internal and the external factors in linguistic change are densely intertwined, but not, as the phrase goes, inextricably so. On the contrary, their connection can be understood. It is one of the benefits to be derived from our increasing familiarity with the so-called special languages that some of the entities which historical interpretation has identified on speculative grounds can be observed in their synchronic functioning.
>
> (Hoenigswald 1971:473).

[2] Cf. footnote 1, p.14.

Because of the multitude of first languages spoken by the users of NGP one is dealing with a large number of such pre-pidgin continua on which jargons as used by individual speakers are located. The position of a jargon on a hypothetical continuum intermediate between a speaker's first language and stable Rural Pidgin is an indication of the degree to which it is characterised by individual solutions or social norms. The following graph illustrates the hypothetical position of six jargons as found with speakers from three different language groups:



L_1 ..... L_n = speaker's first language

J_{1A} ..... J_{nB} = Jargon

Henceforth the varieties located on these pre-pidgin continua will be referred to as jargons (those varieties remote in time) and Bush Pidgin (those varieties geographically remote). Their study undoubtedly offers interesting prospects for linguistic investigation. However, it does require an intimate knowledge of the substratum languages, a requirement which unfortunately cannot be met by the author. Because of this and because of the marginal role of these varieties in the NGP speaking community of Papua New Guinea today, no more than a general characterisation of them can be provided in this study.

Contrasting with these marginal varieties one finds a stable 'core' pidgin with socially sanctioned grammatical conventions which, though not entirely fixed in all regards, are accepted by the majority of NGP speakers as the standard for 'good pidgin'. This variety will henceforth be labelled 'Rural Pidgin', reflecting the fact that it is found

most typically in the rural areas of Papua New Guinea. Its most outstanding characteristic is its grammatical uniformity throughout Papua New Guinea, attributable to the socio-historical conditions in which it developed.

Until recently the mode of transmission of NGP was fairly uniform. It was learnt by the many thousands of contract labourers in the plantation areas of the Gazelle Peninsula and the goldfields of Bulolo and Wau who, on their return, taught NGP to their fellow villagers who then went to serve a period of contract labour in one of the few centres of employment. The continued influence of various mission bodies, who began to standardise NGP in mission and educational activities, also promoted stability.

However, the increased impact of English as a target language has led to some further differentiation of NGP. Apart from the various unstable varieties located on the pre-pidgin continua and the relatively stable core pidgin, varieties intermediate between this core pidgin and its lexifier language English are now in evidence. These anglicised varieties of NGP, henceforth referred to as 'Urban Pidgin', again exhibit much structural variability, the degree of access to English and the situational context in which a speaker finds himself determining how far his NGP approaches the target of English.

The relatively instability[1] of Urban Pidgin is a function of a number of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors which will be discussed later. It suffices, for the present argument, to point out that any description of Urban Pidgin must be made with reference to English, since Urban Pidgin cannot be regarded as an independent linguistic system. The author feels that the situation with regard to NGP differs from that found in the mesolectal varieties of, say, Guayanese English Creole or Jamaican English Creole, where meaningful regularities in the mesolectal varieties can be pointed out far more easily.[2]

A last group of unstable varieties of NGP are those referred to as 'Tok Masta', i.e. the attempts by a large proportion of the expatriate community resident in Papua New Guinea to speak NGP, which represents a mixture of unsystematically 'simplified' English and certain randomly acquired grammatical and lexical properties of NGP.

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[1] Similar cases of instability have been reported for numerous other languages and the data available confirm Labov's principle that "whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate one, linguistic forms produced by a speaker of the subordinate dialect in a formal context will shift in an unsystematic manner towards the superordinate." (Labov 1971b:450). The development of post-pidgin and post-creole varieties are typical instances of this phenomenon.

[2] The reader is referred to Bickerton's treatments of Guyanese Creole English (Bickerton 1971 and 1973) and to a number of papers presented at the Honolulu Conference on Pidgins and Creoles such as Craig (1975) and Rickford (1975).

Thus, one can distinguish in NGP one core variety with a stable socially sanctioned grammar and three peripheral ones in which both intra-individual and inter-individual variation in grammar is great. In addition to these four main types of second-language NGP there are also varieties of creolised NGP, derived from either Rural or Urban Pidgin.

Lastly, it must be remembered that variation is not only found along the synchronic axis but also along the diachronic one. The rapid structural expansion of NGP over the past 50 years is reflected synchronically in the pidgin used by members of different age groups, particularly in Rural Pidgin whose linguistic history can be traced back to the beginning of the century. This multitude of linguistic varieties subsumed under the common denominator of NGP poses the question as to what a linguistic description of this language should account for.

In view of the diversity of NGP, there is no sense in describing the linguistic competence of the ideal speaker/hearer, a concept which has been found of limited use even with much more uniform languages. Nor would an overall panlectal account covering all varieties be of use, despite its theoretical feasibility, since the resulting panlectal rules would not reflect the linguistic competence of any speaker or group of speakers.[1] In addition, such a grammar would obscure the significant fact that the linguistic competence of many NGP speakers typically occupies a much smaller range on a putative panlectal continuum than is the case with native creole speakers.

The mutual intelligibility of the varieties of NGP is ruled by quite complex conditions. Though the author made no formal study of this, he did make some observations, based on attempts of speakers of a certain variety to transcribe tapes featuring other varieties and on remarks made consistently by informants.[2] His conclusions were as follows:

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[1] A further discussion of this point can be found in DeCamp (1974:46-8) and in Sterelny (1975). The theory of polylectal grammars is still very much in its beginnings and even such basic questions as what data a polylectal grammar should explain remain unsolved. The present writer agrees with Rickford's caveat that

> ... even in the midst of all this concern with descriptive adequacy, however, the simpler level of observational adequacy has hardly begun to be reached. Our knowledge of what is contained in any single creole continuum--what range of variants exists for the different grammatical features, for instance--is far from complete.
>
> (Rickford 1974:92-3)

[2] Bee (1972:69-95) has made a detailed study of misunderstandings occurring as a result of phonological interference between Usarufa and NGP. Her study suggests that intelligibility between some varieties of Rural Pidgin is far from complete. There appear to be significant differences between encoding and decoding competence of speakers of NGP.

i) Tok Masta is only partially intelligible to most New Guinean speakers of NGP, and speakers of Tok Masta cannot usually follow another variety of NGP spoken fluently.

ii) Speakers of Urban Pidgin have no difficulty following the Rural Pidgin of their age group, but may find it difficult to follow the NGP of very old speakers.

iii) Speakers of Rural Pidgin find it difficult to follow heavily anglicised varieties of Urban Pidgin.

iv) Even fluent second-language speakers of NGP experience difficulties in following children speaking NGP as their first language,[1] though older children tend to return to the norms of second language NGP as a result of pressure for communication.

v) First language speakers of NGP appear to experience few difficulties with older speakers with the exception of those who speak with heavy substratum influence or use lexical items of German origin.

vi) Jargonised Bush Pidgin tends to be difficult to follow for most other speakers of NGP. As with Tok Masta, intelligibility in both directions is at best partial.

On the basis of the preceding observations, to attempt a linguistic description which includes the linguistic competence of both expatriate and Papua New Guinean speakers would seem to be of doubtful value. Thus, Hall's (1943b) otherwise very thorough description of NGP is marred (particularly in the phonological section) by his argument that: "it is therefore necessary, especially in formulating phonemic structure, to devise formulae to cover the usage of the three main groups of speakers: Melanesian, British English, American English."

Most other grammatical descriptions of NGP, including the early ones of Brenninkmeyer (1924) and Borchardt (1930) and the more recent ones (Wurm 1971a, Laycock 1970a and Mihalic 1971), are meant to reflect Rural Pidgin as spoken by Papua New Guineans. Both Wurm and Laycock further restrict their description to a presentation of the overall pattern of the Rural Pidgin of a specific geographic area. More recently, Sankoff and Laberge (1973:32-47) and Sankoff and Brown (1975) have analysed a number of aspects of NGP grammar with special regard to the linguistic transition between NGP as a second and first language, but no large area of NGP grammar has been subjected to a similar dynamic treatment to date.

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[1] This remark is based on observations made by the author in Erima village (Madang Province) and Malabang village (Manus Province).

In view of the enormous complexity of the subject matter all descriptions of this language - unless they deal with some highly specialised and restricted aspect of grammar - will have to include some compromises. The present author has chosen to restrict his linguistic investigations to the lexical component of NGP grammar and to confine its systematic description to its diachronic and synchronic manifestation in the stable and socially sanctioned variety of Rural Pidgin, whilst pointing out, in a less formal way, how the other varieties of NGP differ from this pivotal variety.

Whilst deviations in Bush Pidgin and Tok Masta clearly belong to the realm of imperfect second language learning, this doesn't apply to Urban Pidgin. It is likely that the fluctuations and *ad hoc* loans of present-day Urban Pidgin will be the basis of tomorrow's implicationally structured post-pidgin continuum. NGP has experienced continuous structural expansion and change since its early beginnings and it would be short-sighted indeed to condemn all changes. By making suggestions about language planning, in particular vocabulary planning, after discussing the NGP lexicon, it is intended to demonstrate how tendencies to lexical expansion in the grammar can be used to arrive at rational decisions where lexical variation has led to undesired loss in communicative efficiency, rather than to prescribe what NGP should look like in the future.

In the synchronic description of the lexicon of Rural Pidgin (Chapter 5) the author will describe what has been referred to by DeCamp (1974:46-60) as 'communal competence', following this writer's suggestions that such a description is most suited to the representation of lexical regularities. DeCamp's remarks following his treatment of iteratives in Jamaican Creole are of great theoretical importance:

> Note that these systematic relationships among the iteratives are a part of the communal competence. They are not evident in any one idiolect, for no one person uses more than a few of the forms, and no one accepts all of them even when suggested. The total system appears only in the composite vocabulary of all my informants--just as I suspect that the examples which support the Chomsky-Halle vowel-shift rule represent the composite learned vocabularies of all the linguistic scholars and graduate students who happened to be around MIT during the formative years of the book. This does not make the system of iteratives any less real, however. There is no incompatibility with other empirical claims, no reason to reject this obvious systematicity in the data as irrelevant even to the grammars of the idividual speakers.
>
> In fact the composite system is necessary if we are to explain the 76 instances of convergent definitions and explain the ability of a few informants to generate some entire sets of nine iteratives when sufficiently coached and prodded. If this ability to accept and reject suggested forms and assign them meanings in a predictable manner is a part of the individual's linguistic competence, then it would follow that the two grammars, communal and idiolectal, intersect at this point,

> that is, they would have these particular rules in common. How can we best account for the behavior of the individual: with an incredibly complex set of rules which would generate just exactly those iteratives and those ablaut alternations which he himself habitually uses, or with simpler and more general rules? The individual, of course, would deviate from these general rules more than the community would deviate from them. Thus communal performance might well be closer to communal competence than is individual performance to individual competence.
>
> (DeCamp 1974:53-4)

The communalectal description of the lexical system will be supplemented - to the extent that information is available - with remarks on the diachronic development of the communalectal system in the speech of various subgroups of users of Rural Pidgin. If the description of communal lexical competence results in a better understanding of the synchronic regularities of the NGP lexicon, then the varying degrees of productivity, the exceptions and the fuzzy edges of NGP's lexical system can only be fully understood with reference to the diachronic development of this language. It is hoped that, by looking at the various facets of the NGP lexicon just outlined, a clear characterisation of this component of NGP grammar will become possible.

2.3. LEXICAL STUDIES OF PIDGIN LANGUAGES

2.3.1. *GENERAL REMARKS*

The study of the lexicon of pidgins and creoles is part of the tradition of 'classical' etymology and semantics and has generally preceded research into syntactic and phonological patterns. The reasons for this are varied:

i) Because of the alleged lack of any describable syntactic regularities in these languages,[1] studies were necessarily restricted to the lexicon. Thus, Churchill (1911:25ff) devotes the largest part of his monograph 'Beach-la-Mar' to a study of the vocabulary, whilst arguing (p.27) that "it will prove hardly worth while to formulate the rules of the grammar of this speech."

ii) The allegedly highly mixed composition of the lexicon of pidgins appeared to be a promising field for the study of language mixture.[2]

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[1] This view seems to be correct for at least the very early stages in the formation of a pidgin, i.e. the jargon stage, preceding its stabilisation. Lexical information here takes precedence over information found at other levels of grammar: "the number, kind, and derivation of lexical items loom much larger in any demonstration about dialects and history of jargons and pidgins." (Silverstein: personal communication, 5 August 1975).

[2] Note that the concept of 'language mixture' is a pre-theoretical concept. However, it is hoped that a theoretical concept of 'mixture of linguistic systems' will eventually form part of a theory of pidgins and pidginisation.

iii) Etymologists, apart from tracing items of obscure and foreign origin, found a comparison between a pidgin and its main lexifier language of use for the illustration of such classic semantic concepts as 'widening and narrowing of meaning', amelioration and deterioration.

iv) As stated by Hall (1966:89):

> Although it is not as highly organised as the patterns of linguistic structure, the vocabulary of a language tells us, through its meanings, a great deal concerning the society that uses it as a vehicle for communication.

All these reasons concern the lexicon as a list of items which can be studied separately in order to characterise one or another property of pidgin languages. Although such a study of the lexicon can indeed provide valuable insights into the structure and social role of a language such as NGP, there is a danger that this approach will lead to an accumulation of unordered observations rather than a descriptively adequate account of one of the components of NGP grammar.

It is ironic that the so-called relexification theory, a theory which appears to be concerned with the lexicon, has in fact led away from lexical studies to increased concern with the syntactic properties of pidgin and creole languages, particularly their tense and aspect systems. The progress in the syntactic description of pidgins, including NGP, since the 1960's has been considerable and one hopes that some of the recent excellent work in the syntactic description of NGP, e.g. that by Sankoff and Brown (1975), will continue. However, it is unfortunate that progress in the field of syntax has not been paralleled by similar progress in the study of the lexicon. Edwards' remarks on the role of lexical studies in Black English can be applied to the whole field of pidgin and creole studies:

> In studies of Black English in the United States it is currently fashionable to discount lexical studies as less significant or important than grammatical ones.
>
> (Edwards 1974:2)

The present author believes that the pidginists' disenchantment with lexical studies was the result of the absence of lexical theories comparable to the sophisticated syntactic theories available at the time. More precisely, it is the notion of the lexicon being a list of irregularities which has prevented real progress in lexical studies of pidgin languages.

Though the debate about the function and nature of the lexicon is by no means settled and though the place of derivational morphology in grammatical description remains a point of debate, it can nevertheless be said that significant new insights into the nature of lexical

items and the organisation and functioning of the lexical component have become available in recent years. Ignoring the differences found between both individual writers and schools of linguistics, agreement on two points is very widespread:

i) The lexicon is regarded as the repository of a vast amount of syntactic information (cf. Labov 1971b:458).

ii) The lexicon is considered to have structure which, though often assumed to be different in kind and degree from syntactic structures, is amenable to systematic grammatical description.

These developments in lexical theory call for a re-examination of the lexical properties of pidgins and creoles. One of the aims of this book is exactly this.

2.3.2. *METHOD OF DESCRIPTION*

Linguists differ widely in their views as to the function of the lexicon in an integrated theory of language and the descriptive mechanisms needed. These differences result from:

i) Disagreements over what a theory of the lexicon should account for.

ii) Differences in the interpretation of data.

iii) Disagreement as to whether proposals are different only notationally.

The multitude of proposals at hand and the present impossibility of resolving the question might be discouraging. Yet, despite disagreements, a number of writers, in trying to arrive at a descriptively adequate account of the lexicon, have discovered a profusion of facts about the lexicon and language in general which have promoted a considerable increase in insights about the nature of the lexicon.[1] The basic idea that a lexicon has structure has been greatly refined to include details of these lexical structures. Some insights appear to be particularly relevant to the study of the NGP lexicon and have determined the descriptive model adopted in this study:

i) The concept of **lexical information.** The idea that lexical items are the repository of a large amount of information was stated explicitly by Chomsky (1965:84) who drew attention to the syntactic information and, more recently, by Fillmore (1971:370) who lists a number of

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[1] A number of important articles dealing with the lexicon can be found in a reader compiled by Stelzer (1972).

properties which constitute the information which must be contained in a lexical item. Sound and meaning form only a subset of the total set which constitutes lexical information. This new conception of the information contained in lexical items was found to be of importance in the discussion of the notions of 'breaking down' and 'restructuring' of the lexicon of pidgin languages. (For further details see 2.4.)

ii) The concept of **lexical redundancy rules.**[1] This notion, introduced by Chomsky (1965:121ff), refers to the fact that every language possesses a number of phonological, syntactic and semantic conventions which apply to sets of lexical items sharing certain unpredictable properties. The use of such lexical redundancy rules in the description of the lexicon of NGP has led to a replacement of vague notions such as 'wide meanings' or 'syntactic flexibility' with rules accounting for the syntactic and semantic range of lexical items. (For further details see 2.5.)

iii) The idea of **word-formation being amenable to a description in terms of regularities.** This means that the items traditionally listed in vocabularies and dictionaries can be differentiated into those which are conventionalised with regard to the relation between sound and meaning and others whose meaning can be accounted for by reference to other lexical items and certain regularities. The grammar of language is thus seen as containing mechanisms, named programs, which relate lexical items with shared semantic and morphological properties as well as relating new lexical items to already established ones. Opinions differ, however, as to whether word-formation is part of the transformational component (which is regarded as being part of the syntactic component) or a special sub-component of the lexicon, two points of view commonly known as the transformationalist and the lexicalist position.[2] (for further details see 2.6.)

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[1] There are some differences in the use of the term 'lexical redundancy rules' by different writers. Chomsky and Halle (1968:163) regard them as part of the readjustment rules, more precisely "those readjustment rules which have the effect of restricting the class of possible lexical entries". A second function is to spell out predictable lexical information. The term 'redundancy rule" as used by Starosta (1971: 167ff) and Jackendoff (1974) refers to rules stating a generality about the relation between groups of lexical items and thus includes, for example, word-formation rules. The present author feels that a distinction should be made between **redundancy rules**, specifying the possible form of lexical entries and specifying redundant lexical information for individual entries and **lexical programs** which are neither generative nor full specifications of the lexical information contained in related lexical entries.

[2] It must be stressed that the relationship between lexical items with shared semantic and morphological properties is not generative in the sense that syntactic transformations are. Lexical redundancy rules and lexical programs relate lexical items belonging to a finite - and in the case of NGP quite a small - set. The generation ...

(cont'd opposite)

iv) The notion that the lexical component not only contains 'words' but also lexical items of various size levels. This insight has been expressed by a large number of scholars working within different theoretical frameworks. Halliday's remarks (1966:156-7) on this matter may be regarded as representative:

> Lexical items may indeed enter into a sort of rank relation: it is likely, for example, that on collocational criteria we would want to regard stone, grindstone and nose to the grindstone each as a separate lexical item, and though triads of this kind may be rare it looks as though we need the categories of 'simple' and 'compound', and perhaps also 'phrasal', lexical item, in addition to 'collocational span', as units for a lexical description.

(For further details see 2.7.)

v) The notion that the meaning of many lexical items cannot be determined solely by their constituent semantic features but that it is also a function of their position in a semantic field. Semantic distinctions vary from language to language and the question as to how users of a pidgin cope with this problem is of great importance for the understanding of pidgins. (For further details see 2.8.)

It must be remembered that these insights belong to the phase of linguistic investigation committed to making generalisations on the basis of systematic observations. In other words, whereas it is possible to arrive at an observationally and sometimes descriptively adequate account of a large number of lexical properties of a language, the question of explanatory adequacy, i.e. the ways in which these insights can be incorporated into an integrated theory of human language, still remains largely unanswered.[1]

... of new lexical items is dependent on factors outside the lexical regularities. New lexicalised items have to become conventionalised, i.e. accepted as names for things, processes, states, etc. The restrictions on the creation of new lexical items differ with individual lexical programs, and it is difficult to draw a clear-cut distinction in some instances. This fact has induced a number of writers, including the present author (Mühlhäusler 1975a:14ff), to distinguish between lexical and syntactic derivation. There are certainly no *a priori* reasons, other than descriptive convenience, why a strict separation between lexical and syntactic processes should be upheld in all cases. This does not mean, however, that such a separation is not of value for a large proportion of the phenomena dealt with in the present study.

[1] This view differs from Jackendoff's view (1974:1-2) in that it is more cautious about assigning the level of 'descriptive adequacy' to a lexical description which can capture some subregularities and generalisations pertaining to related lexical items. The author feels that full descriptive adequacy can be attained only once the requirements of observational adequacy in the lexicon have been met. Jackendoff (1974:1) characterises these as "providing each lexical item with sufficient information to describe its behaviour in the language". (Cf. also remarks made recently by Lightner (1975:617-38).)

The present study is primarily concerned with attaining the requirement of observational adequacy for NGP, in view of the state of NGP studies when the author began his investigations. Though a number of vocabularies and dictionaries were available, most were lacking in both completeness and and observational adequacy. Word-formation was generally not mentioned other than by mere listing, hardly any statements about lexical redundancy were available and the description of the semantic and phonological properties of lexical items was often biased in favour of their English etymons.[1] Observation of the spoken language and the checking of earlier statements about the properties of lexical items thus had to take priority and it is hoped that observational adequacy has been attained in the presentation of the data.

In addition, some of the observations made about the lexicon of NGP can throw light upon a number of questions currently debated by the lexicalist and transformationalist schools of transformational generative grammar. In particular, the author's observations about word-formation in NGP suggest that the regularities underlying the formation of compounds, reduplications and functionally shifted lexical items are different in kind from rules needed in the syntactic component.

2.4. LEXICAL INFORMATION

A dichotomy fundamental to this study is that between **lexical bases** and **derived** (or non-basic) **lexical items**, **lexical item** serving as a cover term for both. The basis for this distinction - also referred to as **unmotivated** versus **motivated** or **opaque** versus **transparent** words - is that speakers of many languages understand certain lexical items in terms of others which are morphologically related, such that derived lexical items often depend for their interpretation on other basic items.[2] (Cf. Mühlhäusler 1975a:10.)

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[1] The tendency to describe NGP in terms of English structures manifests itself, for instance, in the provision of too much semantic information (such as when tumara is glossed as *'tomorrow'* instead of simply *'the next day'*), in suggestions of morphological relatedness between lexical items which are morphologically unrelated in NGP (such as daun - daunbilo for daun - tambilo *'down - ship's hold'*), and in the interpretation of monomorphemic items as being polymorphemic (e.g. the analysis of bagarap *'ruined'* as bagar + ap) among other instances to be discussed later. (Cf. also Dennis and Scott 1975:18.)

[2] Note however, that the definition of lexical base as used in the present study implies that lexical bases are abstract entities and therefore not direct parallels to unmotivated or opaque words. 'Lexical bases' refers to the full set of unpredictable lexical information whereas terms such as 'opaque word' include redundant information such as is provided by lexical redundancy rules. An 'opaque word' thus corresponds to the lexical entry of a lexical item which has not undergone an information-changing lexical program whereas a 'transparent word' corresponds to lexical entries whose lexical information is related to base information through information-changing lexical programs.

Lexical bases contain the full set of unpredictable (or basic) lexical information only. All other lexical information is regarded as being derived from basic information by either lexical redundancy rules, specifying redundant information, and/or lexical programs which change basic information. The role of these two mechanisms as well as the distinction between basic and derived lexical information will be expanded upon later in this subchapter.

Lexical information falls into three main categories, namely the phonological, the semantic and the syntactic information. Phonological and semantic information has been commonly held to constitute the two components of a pre-theoretical concept of 'linguistic sign', one which will not be used in this study. In addition to this grammatically relevant information there is other information relevant in the determination of stylistically and situationally appropriate use of lexical items. The following discussion of lexical information is based on Fillmore's exploratory article on this topic (Fillmore 1971:370-92) though his framework is not strictly adhered to.

Regarding **phonological information**, NGP shares with most and probably all pidgin languages an extreme shallowness of phonology:

> In fact, it seems a useful working hypothesis, doubtless overstated, that phonology in pidgin languages consists only in a set of systematic phonemes which provide underlying representations that are the same as their surface representations.
>
> (Kay and Sankoff 1974:63)

Whilst this claim makes sense in a descriptive framework in accounting for the idealised competence of an abstract speaker/hearer, it would need to be revised if the variations of actual NGP are to be considered. Future research would have to concentrate on the rules that enable speakers to communicate across a range of lects. Since no full account of NGP phonology is available at present, the identity of underlying and surface representations has been accepted for the purpose of the discussion of the NGP lexicon. It is argued here that the spellings suggested by Mihalic and Sievert (1970) and the principles outlined in *The Standard Neo-Melanesian (Pidgin) Orthography* (1956) are a reasonable approximation to a systematic phonemic representation and the spelling used in this study will, unless otherwise indicated, reflect the standard usage.

Regarding **semantic information**, this study is not concerned with the development of a theory of lexical semantics, and the proposals put forward here must be regarded as a working hypothesis rather than a theory. It combines certain insights into the nature of lexical semantics such as have been put forward in recent years (e.g. Katz (1971);

Weinreich (1971)). One of the main reasons for selecting a number of these hypotheses in preference to others was that their adoption facilitated the discussion of referential adequacy, generality of meaning and similar notions which have played an important role in the study of pidgin languages.

It is accepted that the semantic information contained in a lexical base can be expressed as a set of components and that, in considering the meaning of lexical bases, aspects other than mere referential meaning have to be taken into account. A descriptive framework which satisfies the author's requirements is that by Leisi (1961 and 1973) though Leisi's proposals have been modified to suit the present description of the NGP lexicon.

Whilst accepting componential analysis as a descriptive device, Leisi distinguishes between words with **simple semantic content** and others with **complex semantic content**. In the case of lexical bases with simple semantic content, the lexical meaning can be determined in terms of the set of semantic markers specifying a designated object, event or state whereas with lexical bases of complex semantic content conditions outside the object, event or state designated are relevant to its interpretation. This distinction leads to some interesting observations about the semantic nature of NGP lexical bases particularly when compared to that of cognates in its lexifier language English.

There are, for instance, a large number of English nouns which refer to perimeters and boundaries. In order to correctly choose between these nouns one must specify not only that they refer, for instance, to a perimeter, but also a number of material properties of the object whose perimeter is talked about. In the examples in the following table, NGP uses a single noun base with simple semantic content where English uses a large number of noun bases with complex semantic content:

NGP	English
arere (bilong hat)	*'brim (of a hat)'*
arere (bilong buk)	*'margin (of a book)'*
arere (bilong wara)	*'bank (of a river)'*
arere (bilong klos)	*'hem (of a dress)'*
arere (bilong aiglas)	*'rim (of spectacles)'*
arere (bilong kantri)	*'boundary (of a country)'*
arere (bilong rot)	*'side (of a road)'*

A second set of examples is provided by a comparison of NGP and English verbs denoting 'downwards motion'. Whereas NGP uses pundaun *'move downwards'* irrespective of the subject involved and the speed of the movement, English possesses a variety of verbs of semantically

complex content, in which special conditions are imposed on subject and/or implicit and explicit manner adverbials. These verbs include *'to crash'*, *'to tumble'*, *'to fall'*, *'to smash'*, *'to plonk'*, among many others.

There is a second sense in which English lexical bases, in particular verb bases, can be called complex since, apart from containing a large amount of co-occurrence restrictions of the type just described, they frequently contain many semantic components. To express items such as *'recognise'*, *'abbreviate'* and *'secede'*, NGP typically resorts to a construction of verb serialisation where the set of semantic components appearing with single English verb bases is distributed over two or more concatenated verbs in NGP as in:

NGP	Gloss	English
luk save	*'see know'*	*'recognise'*
tok hapim	*'say make part'*	*'abbreviate'*
bruk lusim	*'break leave'*	*'secede'*
tok pait	*'talk fight'*	*'argue'*
lukluk hait	*'look be hidden'*	*'peep'*

The discussion of the semantic information contained in lexical bases has been restricted to a brief examination of semantic components and semantic complexity, and that of lexical bases as a repository for syntactic information will be kept equally brief. The present author shares the view expressed by Chomsky (1965:87ff) and numerous others that lexical bases should contain certain information relevant to the functioning of syntactic operations, including categorical information and information about rules of grammar to which such bases are sensitive.

However, it is important to point out that the syntactic information contained in lexical bases, like any other lexical information, can undergo certain regular changes under the impact of the various programs of derivation such as are found in Chapter 5. This means that syntactic base information coincides with the information needed when the insertion of a lexical item into syntactic structure takes place only if no information-changing lexical program operates on it.

Syntactic information other than categorical information includes information about valency, i.e. the number of NP's which can be associated with verbs, about the deep structure syntactic environments into which it may be inserted and about syntactic transformations which may result from its presence. At this point the author does not want to commit himself to spelling out all characteristics of syntactic information and their organisation in a complex symbol appearing with lexical entries (cf. Chomsky 1965:82-90).

In addition to the information just listed, speakers of NGP know that the use of a number of lexical bases is appropriate only in certain situations or for certain speakers. Thus, information such as the levels of style to which a lexical base is appropriate and the social or geographical distribution of its use must also be specified.

To sum up, lexical information originates from a number of sources and a distinction between two main kinds can be made; first, basic information, i.e. the full set of unpredictable or irregular information associated with lexical bases, and second, derived information which results from the operation of lexical redundancy rules and programs of lexical derivation.

2.5. LEXICAL REDUNDANCY RULES

The function of lexical redundancy rules is to spell out predictable phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic information contained in lexical items. Redundancy rules can be subdivided into those which specify general conditions for possible lexical items and others which predict certain non-basic information from lexical information contained in lexical bases. Though there appears to be a widespread acceptance of the concept of lexical redundancy as proposed by Chomsky (1965:164-70), relatively little is known about lexical redundancy in most languages,[1] nor is the relationship between lexical redundancy and derivation always clear, particularly in the case of the second type of redundancy rule. However, in spite of these shortcomings, the concept of lexical redundancy enables many observations about the nature of the NGP lexicon to be made.

The first type of lexical redundancy rules are **phonological redundancy rules** which specify the canonical shape of permitted syllables and phonological words. Thus, for NGP, they would specify, among other things, that phonological words may not contain more than three syllables, that certain clusters are not permitted and that certain sounds can only appear in specified positions within phonological words. A second function of phonological redundancy rules is to specify redundant phonetic features of individual segments in NGP, for example, that all front vowels in NGP are automatically unrounded.

Morphological redundancy rules specify, in NGP, that words may not contain more than two morphemes, a general restriction which partly

[1] As late as 1971 Starosta (1971:167) referred to lexical redundancy rules as a descriptive device "introduced in Chomsky's ASPECTS but not greatly exploited since."

coincides with and supplements the restriction on phonological structure just mentioned. A second set of morphological redundancy rules specifies that lexical derivation cannot operate on morphemes which have already been derived once.

Syntactic redundancy rules state generalities about the relation between the syntactic information contained in related classes of lexical items and the possible occurrence of classes of lexical items in certain syntactic environments. Rules of the first kind would specify, for instance, that entries for nominal lexical items containing the feature [+ count] are an abbreviation for two lexical items, one singular, the other plural. Rules of the second kind would specify that, whilst nominal, verbal and adjectival lexical items can be inserted into predicate position, only nominal lexical items can appear as the head of subject NP's.

The principal function of **semantic redundancy rules** is "to express generalizations about the relative occurrence of semantic markers and to economize lexical readings" (Katz 1967:166). Their predictive power is enhanced by the fact that some of the semantic information constitutes an implicationally ordered set of semantic components. Thus [+ human] implies [+ animate]; [+ animate] implies [+ count], and so forth.[1] There are also instances in which semantic components are replaced by others, such as the rule that nouns referring to animals may also refer to the meat of these animals. Since these rules change semantic information, it has been decided to deal with them together with other rules changing lexical information, i.e. in the derivational lexicon.

In addition to the rules just discussed it was found that general statements could also be made about stylistic, social and other[2] information contained in lexical items. Thus, items with German cognates are generally used by speakers of the older generation and in areas which were once under German administrative control. Regularities of this kind will be used in the characterisation of social and regional varieties of NGP.

The principal function of lexical redundancy rules as used for the purposes of the present study is that of predicting additional lexical

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[1] There may be other, not yet well understood, semantic redundancy rules specifying principled reasons why certain lexical programs are incompatible with certain lexical bases. Some such cases have been discussed by Rose (1973:509ff) and in Cooper's reply to Rose's paper (1975:397-9).

[2] One such convention has been mentioned by Givón (1973:7): "An otherwise productive derivational rule will not apply to a particular lexical item if the resulting derived item would have been synonymous to an item already existing in the lexicon of the language." A discussion of this can be found in Mühlhäusler (1975a:27) and in Chapter 5.

information on the basis of the unpredictable information contained in lexical bases. Together with the rules of lexical derivation to be discussed shortly, lexical redundancy rules serve to express regularities and subregularities of the lexicon.

2.6. THE FORMATION OF LEXICAL ITEMS

2.6.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The term 'formation of lexical items' covers a number of linguistic processes involving changes in the information of lexical bases. These processes, which are also known as lexical derivation, will be subdivided on the basis of various criteria.

The first subdivision is that between **word-formation** and **formation of higher level lexical items.** A second subdivision is that into **compounding, reduplication** and **functional change of lexical items** (multifunctionality). A subclass of the latter are cases in which only subcategorical information is changed as a result of changes in semantic information. The basis for a subdivision of the formation of lexical items into these classes is that the different types of lexical derivation affect the various kinds of lexical information in different ways, a point which will be further discussed in the introduction to Chapter 5. The following remarks on word-formation are meant to be representative of the processes of formation of lexical items in general.

Word-formation remains an aspect of language which has not yet received satisfactory treatment in any theory or model of language:

> What de Saussure said about traditional grammar is equally true about the contemporary, above all the transformational grammar: each "ignore des parties entières de la langue, telle que la formation des mots".
>
> (Pennanen 1972:293)

Various difficulties have led to this neglect. One of these is the problem of organisational universals, i.e. the question of how the word-formation component relates to other components of grammar (cf. Botha 1968:22). Another problem is that of the form of the mechanisms needed for an adequate descriptive treatment of word formation processes (cf. Halle 1973:3-16, Jackendoff 1975 and Matthews 1974).

Whilst these issues still remain unresolved, the author has felt that a lexicalist treatment not only offers the most convenient framework for accommodating observations about the formation of word and higher level lexical items[1] but also, in addition, promises to lead to a descriptively adequate account of this part of the NGP grammar.

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[1] This point has been discussed in detail by Jackendoff (1975:639-71) whose arguments in favour of a unitary treatment of lexical items at all levels are accepted by the present author.

On the following pages, a number of linguistic reasons for the separation of syntactic and lexical structures will be put forward. They will be supplemented by a proposal for a descriptive mechanism for word-formation processes. The decision to adopt a model of description which regards the word-formation component as a sub-component of the lexicon[1] was further facilitated by the observation that NGP, like other pidgins, is characterised by shallowness of syntactic constructions (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:95, and Kay and Sankoff 1974:61-72). It is hoped that a descriptive model using shallow syntactic structures and lexical insertion into the deepest of these structures (a deep structure of the kind proposed by Chomsky in 1965) also reflects the actual mental processes of NGP speakers.

One of the central aims of the present study is to formalise the ability of speakers of NGP to recognise the composition and structure of lexical items and to make statements about lexical relatedness. A further aim is to determine how the regularities underlying the formation of lexical items from lexical bases are used in expanding the vocabulary of this language, a faculty which can be labelled 'lexical competence'.[2]

2.6.2. *THE SEPARATION OF SYNTACTIC FROM WORD-FORMATION PROCESSES*

The author believes it unnecessary to repeat the arguments against an incorporation of word-formation into a phonological or morphological component of grammar, since it should be clear that word-formation involves much more than mere changes in phonological or morphological information (cf. Matthews 1974:196-213). The discussion will therefore deal with the separation of syntactic and lexical derivation only.

One of the main problems of generative grammars is the excessive power of many of their rules. In recent years, a number of attempts have been made to discover linguistic constraints which would prevent generative rules from generating unacceptable output. The problems encountered in syntactic descriptions appear to be less phenomenal when compared with those encountered in dealing with lexical derivation. In fact, the view is held by a number of linguists (e.g. Chomsky 1968: 187) that the separation of derivational lexicon and syntax is motivated

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[1] Cf. also Chomsky's 'Remarks on Nominalization' (1968:184-221) and 'Some Empirical Issues' (1972:120-202).

[2] Cf. also the remarks in fn.2, p.14, and fn.2, p.26.

largely by differences in productivity[1] of lexical and syntactic rules. However, whilst lexical rules are typically less productive than syntactic ones, the criterion of productivity cannot be taken as the only reason for separating lexicon from syntax. The author shares Halliday's view (1966:148) that one is dealing with differences in kind and not merely differences in 'delicacy'. The arguments proposed on the following pages are concerned with the demonstration that the constraints needed in accounting for derived lexical items are different in kind from those needed in the syntactic component and that a different type of mechanism for the description of lexical derivation is therefore called for.

i) Word Classes and Levels of Grammar

Traditionally, and this is still very widely upheld, criteria from a number of different components of grammar have been used in setting up classes such as 'noun', 'verb' and 'adjective'. Though these criteria often converge, it is a fallacy to expect "all criteria used to produce identical results in classification" (Crystal 1967:41). In fact, it can be demonstrated that the use of different criteria may lead to different classifications and that, moreover, different classifications are needed for different components of grammar. The argument which the author will put forward is that a distinction should be made between the use of the terms noun, verb, etc. as lexical categories and their use as categories of syntax.[2]

In order to make correct generalisations about the functioning of word-formation in NGP it is necessary to postulate a number of lexical categories, such as noun and verb, which are part of the lexical information found in lexical bases. The role of lexical redundancy rules is seen as specifying redundant categorical information, whereas derivational programs can, in some instances, change such information. This will be reflected in the use of terms such as 'noun base' or 'verb base' to refer to lexical bases belonging to these categories, whilst

---

[1] The notion of 'productivity' is not as yet a theoretical concept and opinions about its usefulness diverge. Combrink (1973) has discussed this question in a paper (particularly on pp.58-9) which has remained virtually unknown since it was published in Afrikaans. In his study on Afrikaans affixes he proposes that "the linguistic features preventing the productivity of affixes prove to be of every conceivable type: phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and etymological." (p.58).

[2] Chomsky's remarks (1968:208) appear to amount to a very similar suggestion. In contrast to Chomsky's suggestions, however, it is maintained here that category symbols of the type +N, +V, etc. should be kept as elements of lexical base information. The author suggests that at the level of lexical bases these categories are non-overlapping and that categorical squishiness occurs after lexical insertion, i.e. at the syntactic level only.

reserving the labels 'nominals', 'verbals', etc. for lexical items resulting from the application of lexical redundancy rules and/or derivational programs. Thus, the lexical base underlying the nominal lexical item wara *'river'* will contain the base information [+ noun], the lexical base underlying the verbal lexical item kisim *'to get'* will contain the base information [+ verb], whilst a verbal lexical item such as bairaim *'to hoe'* will be related to a lexical base containing the categorical information [+ noun].

It is argued that the information needed for lexical insertion is that contained in lexical items and that the rules of syntax do not require information about the way in which lexical items are related to lexical bases. Information about the derivational status of a lexical item is needed, on the other hand, in order to correctly predict whether such an item can undergo certain word-formation operations or not. This will be illustrated by a number of examples which reflect an important principle of NGP grammar forbidding multiple derivation, i.e. a word-level derived lexical item cannot be further derived even if the phonological and semantic conditions for such a derivation are met. Examples include:

a) Derivation of abstract nominals

Abstract nominals can be derived from intransitive verb bases as in:

Lexical Base	Derived Lexical Item
lap *'to laugh'*	lap *'laughter'*
amamas *'to be glad, rejoice'*	amamas *'joy'*
save *'to know'*	save *'knowledge'*
raun *'to wander'*	raun *'wanderings'*

However, abstract nominals cannot be derived from verbals which have been derived from other lexical bases, e.g.:

Lexical Base	Derived Verbals	*Abstract Nominals
bek (N) *'bag'*	bekim *'to fill into bags'*	*bekim *'the bagging'*
smok (N) *'smoke'*	smokim *'to smoke something'*	*smokim *'the smoking'*
huk (N) *'hook'*	huk *'to catch fish with hook'*	*huk *'fish catching'*
wel (N) *'oil'*	wel *'slippery'*	*wel *'slipperiness'*

To express the phrase *'the bagging of the copra'* a paraphrase of the type wok bilong bekim kabora must be used in NGP. Similarly, abstract nominals cannot be derived from causative verbals which in turn are derived from adjectives or verb bases. Though sindaunim *'to settle, make sit'* can be derived from sindaun *'to sit'*, no abstract nominal, *sindaunim *'the settling'*, is permitted, by the same convention.

The fact that an abstract noun kilim *'the act of killing, the slaughter'* can be derived from the causative verb base kilim *'to hit, kill'* indicates that the restriction on derivation is derivational and not semantic.

b) Reduplication of verb bases to express intensity

Verb bases in NGP can be reduplicated to express the idea of intensification. A more detailed account of this can be found in Chapter 5 and the case considered here will be that of reduplication of transitive verb bases. Consider the following:

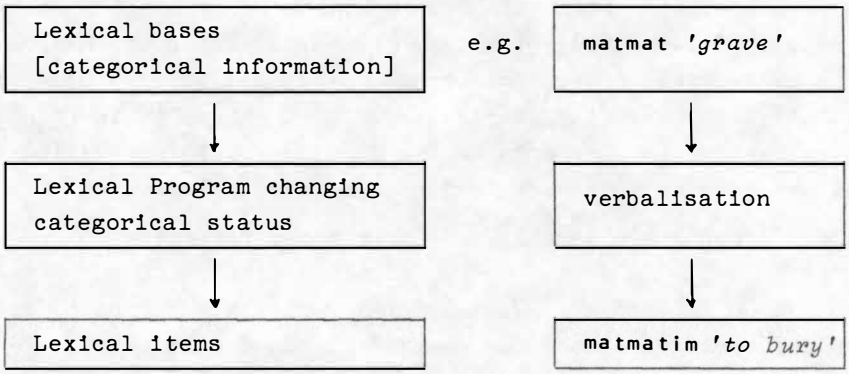
Lexical Base	Reduplicated Lexical Item
askim *'to ask'*	askaskim *'to ask persistently'*
kisim *'to get, catch'*	kiskisim *'to grab'*
harim *'to hear, listen'*	harharim *'to listen intently'*
katim *'to cut'*	katkatim *'to mince'*

However, transitive verbs which have been derived, for instance, from noun bases may not be reduplicated in this way:

Lexical Base	Derived Transitive Verbal	Reduplicated Verbal
brum (N) *'broom'*	brumin *'to sweep'*	*brumbrumim
glu (N) *'glue'*	gluim *'to glue'*	*glugluim
wel (N) *'oil'*	welim *'to oil, grease'*	*welwelim

Another restriction found with reduplicated items, one which ties up with the examples listed under a), is that no abstract nominals can be derived from reduplicated verbals. Whereas askim *'question'* can be derived from askim *'to ask'*, no abstract nominal *askaskim *'persistent question'* is permitted.

This evidence confirms the necessity of distinguishing between **lexical bases** which, among other lexical information, contain information about their lexical categorical status (noun, verb, adjective) and **lexical items** containing categorical information relevant to syntactic operations (nominals, verbals, adjectivals). The categorical information of lexical items can be changed by lexical programs or, if those programs apply vacuously, be mapped directly into lexical items which are then inserted into syntactic deep structures. This can be illustrated as follows:



This argument is important in that it has not, to the author's knowledge, been stated in this form for any other language and because it offers formal evidence for a separate level of word-formation which must be regarded as a sub-component of the lexicon. However, for the various processes of word-formation to apply, information other than categorical and derivational information is also needed. The next set of conditions to be considered here are phonological and morphological conditions.

ii) Phonological and Morphological Information

The author believes there are good reasons to assume morphological and phonological properties of NGP lexical items do not influence syntactic operations in this language. However, lexical redundancy rules specifying the possible phonological and morphological make-up of NGP lexical items provide output restrictions in the case of word-formation.[1] The present author has drawn attention to this fact in an earlier publication:

> The reasons for dealing with phonological and morphological restrictions at the same time is that for some speakers of NGP, the number of syllables occurring in a lexical item determines its acceptability, whereas other speakers appear to base their judgement on the number of morphemes. Thus, the first convention can be stated in two ways:
>
> i) NGP phonological words are to have no more than three syllables
> ii) NGP lexical words cannot consist of more than two morphemes.
>
> The first convention restricts the derivation of transitive verbs from noun bases consisting of three or more syllables. Thus, for some speakers, the form pupuluim 'to cast a love spell on', derived from pupulu 'love spell', is not acceptable.
>
> (Mühlhäusler 1975a:20)

[1] Halle (1973:13) refers to some interesting examples in English which have been discussed in an unpublished paper by Siegel. Thus, deadjectival verbs "are subject to the phonetic condition that their base must be monosyllabic and end with an obstruent, which optionally may be preceded by a sonorant." This condition explains the acceptability of *'blacken', 'whiten', 'toughen', 'dampen', 'harden', 'moisten'* on the one hand, and the unacceptability of *'*dryen', '*dimmen', '*greenen', '*laxen'* on the other.

Whereas the phonological restriction has become rather relaxed - possibly a result of the influx of a large number of loans which violate it - the convention concerning morpheme structure is very powerful even in anglicised and creolised varieties of NGP. Thus, it is found that, with few exceptions, the only factor forbidding the derivation of a new lexical item is this restriction on morpheme structure.

a) Derivation of transitive verbals from noun bases referring to instruments

It will be shown in Chapter 5 that a large number of noun bases with these semantic properties can become denominalised, for instance:

Noun Base	Derived Verbal
katapul *'slingshot'*	katapulim *'to shoot down with a slingshot'*
sarip *'grass knife'*	saripim *'to cut with a grass knife'*
spana *'spanner'*	spanaim *'to tighten with a spanner'*
strena *'strainer'*	strenaim *'to pour through a strainer'*

However, the derivation of verbals from synonymous or near-synonymous compounds is barred:

Compound Nominal	Derived Verbal
slingsut *'slingshot'*	*slingsutim
grasnaip *'grass knife'*	*grasnaipim
pukpukspana *'pipe wrench'*	*pukpukspanaim
koswaia *'gauze wire, strainer'*	*koswaiaim

b) Derivation of transitive verbals from other noun bases

The following pairs illustrate that the same principle is found in other parts of the word-formation component. Compare:

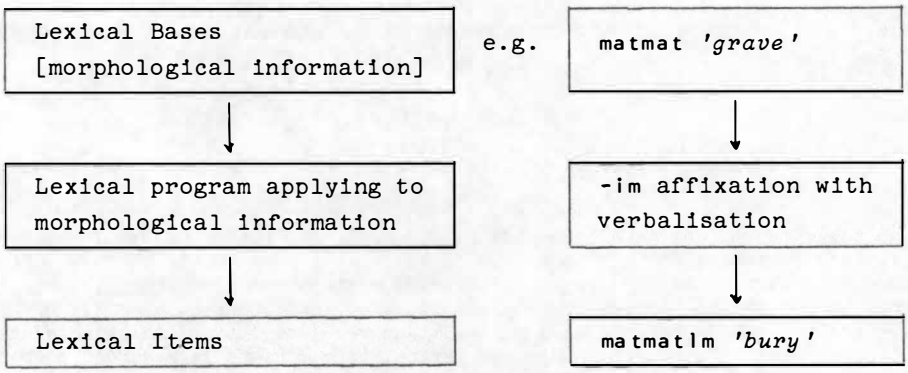
Noun Bases of Nominal Compounds	Derived Verbal Items
ona *'honour'*	onaim *'to honour'*
biknem *'honour'*	*biknemim
poket *'pocket'*	poketim *'to pocket'*
baktrausis *'pocket'*	*baktrausisim
yis *'yeast'*	yisim *'to mix with yeast'*
bekpaura *'baking powder'*	*bekpauraim

Whereas these two cases illustrate the application of a lexical redundancy rule to the word-formation component, supporting the contention that there are certain regularities relevant to the lexical but not the syntactic level, the second part of the argument involving the discrepancy between lexical and syntactic level will refute the assertion that a morphological classification of NGP forms can serve as a basis for a syntactic classification of these forms. This argument

has been put forward by Hall (e.g. 1955a:62ff and 1966:57ff). He argues that the suffix -pela defines a syntactic class of 'predicative adjective' and that a second class, 'transitive verbs', is defined by the suffix -im. However, whereas it is true that attributive adjectives and transitive verbs are often marked by pela and im respectively, there is no relation of determination between the morphological and syntactic criteria, as there are many instances of forms ending in -pela or -im which do not function in this way in the syntactic component, e.g.:

longpela bilong dispela bris *'the length of this bridge'*
bikpela bilong mi *'my big brother'*
em i singaut bikpela *'he shouted loudly'*
olpela bilong dispela tesin *'the age of this settlement'*
i gat planti harim bilong Tok Pisin *'there are many dialects of NGP'*
liklik stretim bilong mi *'my little correction'*
askim bilong mi *'my question'*
gutpela bekim bilongen *'his good (satisfactory) answer'*

It appears that the simplistic picture of agreement between morphological and syntactic criteria has to be replaced by a different account. It must be argued that morphological properties of lexical items in NGP are accounted for by the morphological information contained in lexical bases together with lexical programs which may add or subtract from the original morphological information. If no program applies, the morphological information of the lexical bases is identical to that of the lexical items which are inserted into syntactic deep structures. Thus, the device needed to account for the morphological properties of lexical items is similar to that governing their categorical properties, as represented in the following diagrams:



iii) Semantic Information

Semantic arguments for the separation of lexicon and syntax are of two kinds. First, it is claimed that the semantic information which determines the susceptibility of lexical bases to derivational programs is often not relevant to the structural description of syntactic deep structures to determine their susceptibility to syntactic transformations. This amounts to an empirical claim and the author does not preclude the possibility that evidence may be forthcoming to disconfirm it. A case in point is that of nouns referring to instruments used in killing or hitting animates, such as spears, guns and arrows; whereas transitive verbals can be freely derived from other nouns referring to instruments, the derivation is blocked when weapons are concerned, barring such forms as *ganim *'to gun'*, *stonim *'to stone'* and *spiaim *'to spear'*.

A second kind of semantic argument is that changes in semantic information accompanying the formation of derived lexical items cannot be captured with independently motivated syntactic transformations. Thus, Chomsky (1968:188) writes, when discussing deverbalised nominals: "the semantic relations between the associated proposition and the derived nominal are quite varied and idiosyncratic ...".

The opponents of this view, the transformationalists, point out, however, that derived lexical items can be understood in terms of paraphrases involving the lexical bases and that these paraphrases must be regarded as the deep structures from which lexical items are generated. It would be a digression to discuss the respective views in full;[1] however, it must be pointed out that a transformational view has yet to answer satisfactorily to the objections raised in connection with:[2]

a) the *ad hoc* nature of the deep structures underlying derived lexical items

b) the indeterminacy of the deep structures underlying some derived lexical items.

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[1] A more detailed discussion of the respective views can be found in Leitner (1974: 6ff).

[2] Remarks on these two points have been made by, among others, Botha (1968:117-26) and also in Zimmer's review of Botha's book (Zimmer 1975:171). Jackendoff (1975:646ff) deals with the problem of *ad hoc* deep structures, i.e. structures containing elements which do not appear in the surface structure. The view that items such as *'thief'* in English are derivationally related to a non-existant verb *'to thieve'* is rejected here. Instead, the information appearing under the lexical item *'thief'* is regarded as being accountable for by the lexical information contained in the related lexical noun base together with information provided by redundancy rules.

It appears that the changes in lexical information accompanying the various types of word-formation are not fully susceptible to a description in terms of transformational rules. These difficulties can be shown with some examples from NGP. Thus, naip kas *'knife made out of sharpened hoop iron'*, naip Meru *'kitchen knife such as typically imported from Meru (Hollandia)'*, and naip ston *'stone knife'* must be related to underlying structures such as naip ol i wokim long ain ol i save pasim kas longen *'a knife made of the sort of iron used in securing boxes'*, naip bilong mekim wok long haus kuk ol i save kisim long Meru *'a knife for kitchen work which is imported from Meru'* and naip ol i wokim long ston *'a knife which is made of stone'*, respectively. Note that during the transformational process which derives the surface compounds from their underlying structures a great amount of the deep structure information is irrecoverably lost. Attempts have been made to propose a simple set of deep structure elements which typically disappear during derivation, thereby reducing the great variety found in these deep structures.[1] Though this proposal may reduce the amount of arbitrariness found in a word-formation grammar, it is not yet clear how such a proposal could explain the diversity of new semantic information found with derived lexical items. The author has chosen instead to make a much weaker claim about the relationship between derived lexical items and their bases and that found among derivationally and otherwise related lexical items. Whereas it seems significant that derived items such as functionally shifted lexical bases or reduplications are understood partly in terms of a limited set of paraphrases involving structures of a fairly generalised sort, it seems that there is ample evidence that such structures, even *ad hoc* structures involving more specific elements, cannot recover the full amount of semantic information found with derived lexical items. The term **program** used by the present author in his description of multifunctional items will also be used when referring to paraphrases related to compounds and other instances of word-formation (Mühlhäusler 1975a:12-3):

> The term referring to the descriptive device used for handling lexical derivation is program, one adopted from Gauger (1971:49ff). This term was chosen in preference to terms such as 'derivational rule'. It is acknowledged that functionally shifted items are surface structures whose meaning can be recovered in part from related syntactic structures. However, the fact that such items are related to syntactic structures does not warrant the assumption that they can be generated from these structures by means of transformational rules.

[1] Cf. Lees (1970:182) in connection with binominal compounds:

> It may be possible to associate one, or a small number of generalized verbs with certain classes of compounds by fixed grammatical rule, so that the compounds in question need not be described by the grammar in such a way as to imply that they are indefinitely ambiguous.

The form of the programs is similar to that of transformational rules and the following examples may serve as an illustration:

(N + im) V_{tr} → yusim N long wokim sampela samting
'use' N 'to make something'

read:	derived item	related to	paraphrase
example:	maiselim	related to	yusim maisel long wokim s.s.
	'to chisel'		'to use a chisel to make something'

The paraphrases used in these programs reflect the intuitions of speakers of NGP about the semantic interpretation of derived items. Basic items may be related to more than one program if they meet the conditions for the application of more than one program. Thus, graunim derived from graun 'soil' can be interpreted as either 'to hill up plants' or 'to put into the soil'; in the former case graunim follows the pattern just described for maiselim, i.e. instrumental use, in the second case it follows a program (N + im) V_{tr} → putim sampela samting i go insait long N 'to put something into N'.

Whilst thus arguing that the meaning of derived lexical items can be partly accounted for by a relatively small number of programs, it is maintained that the full amount of semantic information which they contain exhibits a high degree of idiosyncratic behaviour. Due to their being names for things and actions rather than descriptions thereof, they contain a new 'grip' on reality not solely conditioned by the meaning of their underlying bases plus a meaning-changing transformation; like lexical bases, derived lexical items have 'Gestaltbedeutung'. For instance, the meaning contained in related paraphrases is at best indirectly related to the 'Gestalt' meaning of derived lexical items. Consider, for example, the compounds **luslain** *'to take leave'*, **paip smel** *'clay pipe'* and **slingsut** *'slingshot'*. On asking informants for the meaning of these items the author was given two alternatives in each case, these being:

luslain	mekim olsem sip i lusim lain	*'ship casting off the mooring lines'*
	man i lusim lain	*'man leaving the labour line'*
paip smel	paip i gat gutpela smel	*'the pipe has a good smell'*
	paip ol i wokim long smel	*'pipe made out of cement'*
slingsut	yu sutim siling longen	*'you shoot shilling pieces with it'*
	sling bilong sutim pisin	*'sling for shooting birds'*

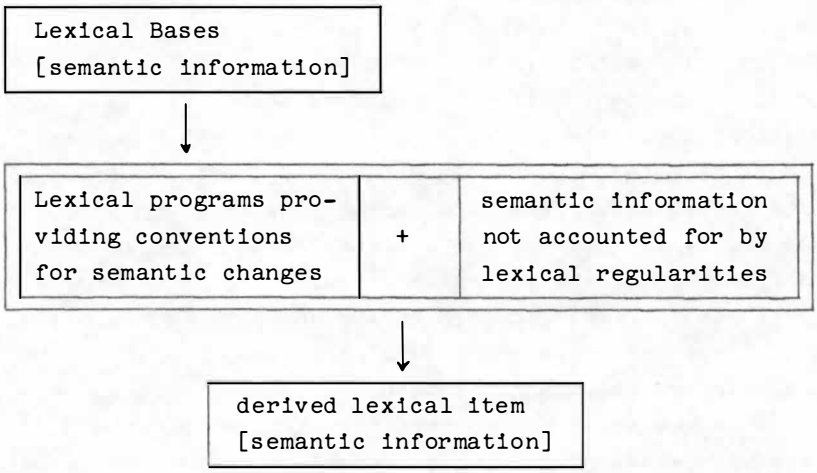
The 'underlying' paraphrases differ both as regards the syntactic relations they exhibit and the lexical items they contain. However, this does not affect the basic function of these compounds as names for certain objects. Differences between speakers are found not only in the ways in which they relate derived lexical items to paraphrases,

but also as regards whether they consider such items to be related to some productive program or not.

Because of NGP's close links with English it has borrowed a large number of English compounds. Different speakers of NGP may have quite different intuitions about the degree of transparency of such items, a fact which does not affect the way in which they use these items as names for actions or things. Thus, the correct use of items such as **paiawut** *'firewood'*, **renbo** *'rainbow'* or **draidok** *'drydock'* is not dependent on a speaker's knowledge of the lexical bases **wut** *'wood'*, **bo** *'bow'* or **dok** *'dock'*, though an increasing number of NGP speakers is now becoming aware that these items can be interpreted as compounds.

Nor does the reinterpretation of certain English bases as compounds or semi-compounds change their basic character as names as, for instance, in **windua - windo** *'wind-door - window'* or the use of **hauspital** *'house pital'* for **hospital** *'hospital'*. In the light of these observations it must be argued that the relation between derived lexical items and related paraphrases is indirect rather than direct, that the function of such paraphrases is that of providing associative frames rather than generative devices and that derived or morphologically motivated lexical items contain unpredictable information found neither in related bases nor suitable for description in terms of rules. Their semantic 'kinkiness' seems to result mainly from the attitude of the investigator, such that they appear 'kinky' to those who set out to generate the full amount of semantic information contained in derived lexical items using syntactic rules.

In this study, the change of semantic information occurring with word-formation is regarded as being only partly predictable, with lexical programs providing a frame of reference for the derivation of lexical items and demonstration of lexical relatedness in NGP. The change of semantic information accompanying word-formation can be represented as follows:



2.6.3. *SUMMARY*

Word-formation embraces a number of operations which are different both qualitatively and quantitatively from syntactic operations. Whereas syntactic operations are concerned with the ordering and arrangement of lexical items into phrases, sentences and constructions of higher order, the word-formation component is concerned primarily with the generation of lexical items from lexical bases. It has been postulated that the main function of regularities of word-formation is that of changing lexical base information into derived lexical information. In principle, any of the base information is susceptible to such changes, though the author has concentrated his attention on changes which take place with regard to phonological, categorical and semantic information. The relationship between the lexical information contained in lexical bases and that contained in derived lexical items is amenable to description in terms of a number of regularities which will be described in Chapter 5. Regularities in deriving lexical items from lexical bases are what lexical programs describe.

Derived lexical items are thus seen as surface structures understood by speakers of NGP in terms of these regularities and a related lexical base, though their full understanding depends - other than in the case of syntactic surface structures - on their being conventionalised, i.e. accepted by the speech community as names for things, ideas, processes, states and so forth. Thus, in the descriptive part of this study (Chapter 5) a very large number of such conventionalised items will be listed.

2.7. SIZE LEVELS IN THE LEXICON

It has been shown in the previous sub-chapter that word-formation differs in a number of ways from syntactic processes. This sub-chapter is basically an elaboration of this argument. It will be argued that the formation of words is just a special case of a much larger phenomenon, the formation of entities other than words.

A description of the lexicon of NGP must account for a number of observations such as:

i) poro *'comrade'* and poroman *'comrade'* are related lexical items.

ii) The same referential meaning can be expressed by a number of linguistic units, as in snek i gat planti han, plantihan and santapet which all refer to a *'centipede'*.

iii) Longer stretches of linguistic units such as phrases and sentences have meanings which appear to be unrelated to the meaning of their components as, for instance, kanu wantaim saman i stap gut *'the canoe and the outrigger fit well' = 'they are happily married'*.

All the above cases exhibit irregularities in the relation between form(s) and meaning and the place for dealing with these irregularities is the lexicon. A number of writers have drawn attention to this fact (e.g. Botha 1968:219-25; Jackendoff 1975:668) and the linguistic units behaving in such a way have been referred to as 'idioms', 'lexemes' and 'linguistic primes', among other labels. The term used in this study is 'lexical item'. Lexical items are realised in NGP as units of various sizes, these being:

i) word-level lexical items
ii) phrase-level lexical items
iii) lexical items above phrase-level (lexical spans)

} higher level lexical items

It should be noted that lexical words, lexical phrases, etc. are different from syntactic words or syntactic phrases in a number of ways, this difference having been often ignored in earlier descriptions of NGP. Thus, nambawan moran *'black python'*, is treated as a single lexical item at phrase-level whereas an expression such as nambawan kaikai *'excellent food'* is treated as a syntactic phrase containing the lexical items nambawan *'excellent'* and kaikai *'food'*. (A further discussion of this point is found in Chapter 5.)

2.8. SEMANTIC FIELDS

The discussion so far has dealt with lexical relatedness such as is manifested at both morphological and semantic levels. It has been postulated that this is governed by a large number of sub-regularities which can be captured by lexical redundancy rules and programs of lexical derivation.

The theory of semantic fields, on the other hand, deals with semantic relatedness between lexical items irrespective of their morphological relatedness or syntactic class membership. Basic to this theory is the claim that different languages impose different semantic structures on the same pre-linguistic or non-linguistic realities, such that the semantic ranges of lexical items differ from language to language.

The study of semantic fields is concerned with the semantic ranges of lexical items in relation to other lexical items with similar semantic properties. This technique is particularly useful with studies of certain tightly structured areas of lexical semantics, such as that of folk taxonomies, where it can be argued that the meaning of lexical items is determined not in terms of referential properties but by semantic relationship with other items in a semantic field.

2.9. LEXICAL DESCRIPTION OF NGP: SUMMARY

The aim of the discussion thus far has been to present a number of observations about the NGP lexicon and to propose a descriptive framework for dealing with these observations. Speakers of NGP share a number of intuitions about lexical items and their relatedness and it has been argued that these intuitions can be best described within a lexicalist framework, i.e. a framework which recognises the lexicon as a significant linguistic level and lexical processes as being different from phonological and syntactic ones. The author is aware that many questions about the internal properties of such a lexical component and its position in grammar as a whole are not fully settled. Though the aim of this study is to provide an observationally adequate account of lexical inventories and structures in NGP, it is hoped that the framework adopted will attain the level of descriptive adequacy in as much as it is able to make a number of significant generalisations about the ways in which speakers of NGP produce and interpret lexical items.

It is also hoped that the observations made in Chapters 4 and 5 will provide new insights into the functioning of the lexicon of human language in general. Lexical structures and the formation of lexical

items have been described so far for only a small number of languages and the data discussed in this study may well provide evidence concerning proposals made on the basis of the limited information hitherto available.

The lexicon is seen as containing three main sub-components:

i) The lexical base component which contains unpredictable lexical information only.

ii) A component changing and combining basic lexical information and specifying relatedness between lexical items (programs).

iii) A lexical redundancy component specifying general predictable properties of all items sharing certain lexical information.

Lexical items result from the interaction of programs and redundancy rules with the information contained in lexical bases. They should be entered into the lexicon with a full specification of all basic and non-basic lexical information such that their derivational history and relatedness to other lexical items can be fully recovered.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL SETTING OF NGP

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The study of linguistic change and variation is concerned with two aspects of language, namely its structural properties and their social setting. Thus, the diachronic study of language involves an account of its internal and external history, whereas a synchronic study pertains to synchronic variations and the social conditions accounting for them.[1]

The author has chosen to deal with these aspects under separate headings whilst pointing out, within individual sections, the intimate relationship between historical, social and linguistic factors. This decision was reinforced by the absence of any sociolinguistic dynamic model of pidginisation and pidgins, in which social and linguistic data can be embraced in an integrated description.[2]

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[1]The following statement by Hymes (1971:423) reflects the methodological preliminaries underlying the study of these languages:

> In some areas of research it may appear possible to separate the linguistic from the socio-cultural, the synchronic from the diachronic, or historical. Certainly it is not possible to do so in the study of pidgin and creole languages. Given the present apportionment of skills and knowledge among disciplines, adequate study of pidgin and creole languages must have a multidisciplinary base.

[2]Though there is no doubt about the importance of social factors, their relation to linguistic factors in the development of pidgins and creoles cannot be expressed by means of predictive rules at this stage. The present situation is still largely as described by Gumperz in 1966:27:

> The subject of external language history ... until recently, remained outside the scope of formal study. Considerable literature exists on the effect of political and economic change on verbal behaviour, on the rise of standard languages, language shift, the replacement of one language by another, the formation of 'mixed languages', pidgins, creoles, trade jargons and the like. The evidence presented leaves no doubt that these developments are attributable to social causes and not to human anatomy, climate, or geography, as had previously been suggested .... But we still lack a theory of language and society which would explain how specific factors in the social system may lead to linguistic changes, and how linguistic structures are affected by these factors.

Numerous writers have expressed the view that pidgin and creole languages provide test cases for theories about the relation between the external history and internal structure of language, that indeed a description of a pidgin which ignores the interaction between these factors and concentrates on the description of abstract linguistic structures, will fail to be an adequate characterisation of such a language.[1] Recent developments in sociolinguistic theory have demonstrated, moreover, that the description of any language must take into account its socio-historical setting if certain aspects of its structure such as variation and exceptions are to be meaningfully explained.

The importance of pidgins as test cases for statements about the relationship between the internal and external history of language and that between linguistic variation and social stratification appears to be beyond doubt, and it is hoped that this study will provide a number of new insights in this regard. The author feels, however, that the time for an integrated theory of pidgin languages has not yet come and that, indeed, preoccupation with the development of theoretical models at this stage may be detrimental to the long-term aims of pidgin studies and sociolinguistic studies in general.

This does not mean that the present account is devoid of theory or anti-theoretical. Thus, the author has set out to find linguistic evidence to confirm his own hypothesis (Mühlhäusler 1974) that simplification processes are crucial in the formation of a stable pidgin. The substratum hypothesis was investigated in some detail and found to be in need of repair. Whilst both a functionalist and a time-incorporating approach to language development were found to be invaluable working hypotheses, a final integration of the various hypotheses is still forthcoming. However, it should become clear in the course of reading this book that the investigation was guided by such theoretical principles. The fact remains that one cannot confirm or discomfirm any hypothesis with deficient data.

Labov's caveat (1971b:464) that:

> the now accepted paradigm is to develop an idea on the basis of a few small examples, without any consideration of what would happen if all the available data were to be treated in this way.

is still very valid in the study of a language such as NGP.

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[1] The following quotation is representative of a multitude of statements found in recent discussions of pidgins and creoles and sociolinguistics in general:

> In considering the relation of linguistics to social setting, we must take into account one important field where there has never been any doubt about the importance of the social context: the study of pidgins and creoles. From the time of Schuchardt, creolists have found it necessary to learn as much as possible about the social changes in which these languages were formed and reformed, and many have brought this knowledge into intimate contact with the linguistic data. (Labov 1973:199)

When setting out to describe the historical and social context of NGP the present writer was struck by the scarcity of reliable data, the number of contradictions or apparent contradictions found in the available materials and the anecdotal character of a great proportion of the observations.[1] This is not surprising when one considers that NGP was generally held in very low esteem and thought unworthy of scientific enquiry. Linguists working on other pidgins and creoles have encountered the same problem.

In view of this situation the author felt that first priority should go to observational adequacy, in an attempt to create a more consistent and exhaustive picture of the historical development and social functions of NGP. It was found that much information was still available, mainly in older books and newspapers. Because of NGP's very short history this information could be supplemented with the reports of those who saw the development of much of NGP's structural and functional expansion, confirming the usefulness of oral history as a tool of scholarly investigation. Most important, many of the processes postulated in historical linguistics on speculative grounds can still be observed *in situ* in NGP. As NGP is carried to new remote areas, the contact situation which led to its coming into being is repeated over and over again.

The observations made have been classified under a number of headings. It must be kept in mind, however, that the classification of the socio-historical data on NGP is strictly pre-theoretical. One of the aims of the classification adopted was that of symmetry of presentation, i.e. one which postulates, for instance, parallelism between significant periods of linguistic and external development of this language. This chapter will be subdivided into three main subchapters, namely:

3.2. The External History of NGP
3.3. The History of Language Policies
3.4. Varieties of Present-day NGP.

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[1] This problem is indeed symptomatic of the entire field of pidgin and creole studies. A more detailed discussion of the pidginist's predicament can be found in Mühlhäusler 1974:1-9. With regard to Pacific Pidgin English, Reed (1943:271) remarks:

> In seeking after the proximate origins of Melanesian pidgin we are faced with an understandable dearth of early texts or records. Those first traders, recruiters, and missionaries who gave it its start and assisted in its diffusion were scarcely aware of its existence. By the time writers of scholarly bent realized that Melanesian pidgin was a language, simple and crude though it be, most information with respect to its beginnings had been lost or forgotten.

3.2. THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF NGP

3.2.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The aim of this subchapter is to describe changes in the social setting of NGP from its earliest beginnings until the present day. These changes are seen to be constituted not only by changing ways of life and political systems but also by a continuous extension of NGP's functions from a rudimentary trade jargon to a fully-fledged creole language.

The question of the origin of NGP - a question which has loomed large in previous discussions - is treated as an integral part of its development. Jargons of the kind which marked the beginning of NGP are a very widespread phenomenon; the development of such jargons into stable pidgins and creoles, on the other hand, is an exception. It therefore seemed justifiable to deal with the special circumstances which led to the development of a stable pidgin in German New Guinea rather than concentrating on general questions of origin and the various theories proposed as an explanation.[1]

The organisation of this subchapter is based mainly on chronological order; the cuts made in the temporal continuum, which ranges from the beginning of the 19th century to the present day, are based on certain significant events signalling new *raisons d'être* for NGP and at the same time causing changes in its linguistic nature. It must be kept in mind, however, that the temporal dimension is not the only one along which changes in the external functions and internal structures of NGP can be placed, and that a full understanding of the external history of NGP can be gained only if the chronological information is also seen against the dimensions of geographical and social distance.

The idea of pidgin languages being distinct from other languages in that they have a 'life-cycle' was first proposed by Hall (1962:151):

> Pidginized languages normally come into existence for a specific reason, last just as long as the situation which called them into being, and then go quickly out of use. Only if the situation changes radically does such a language acquire a longer lease on life and, by becoming creolized, pass over to the status of a "normal" language.

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[1] Discussions of the various standard theories about the origin of Pidgin English - e.g. relexification theory, nautical English theory, baby talk theory - can be found in many places including Heine (1973:20-32), Todd (1974b:28-40), and, with specific reference to NGP, in Wurm (1971b:999-1021) and Mühlhäusler (1977a). However, the author agrees with Bickerton (1975b:1) that "the widely-touted differences between 'polygeneticists' and 'monogeneticists' are trivial alongside the mass of common presuppositions which they share."

Whilst it has become widely accepted that pidgin languages depend for their survival on favourable external conditions, Hall's basic model has been extended by a number of writers so as to accommodate the fact that pidgins are dynamic and not static entities. The modifications proposed by the present writer (Mühlhäusler 1974:15-16), Todd (1974b:50-69) and others constitute attempts to distinguish significant stages within the life-cycle of these languages.

For the purposes of this study five stages in the development of NGP are distinguished, each of which is characterised by a specific set of external conditions and certain properties of linguistic structure:

Name of stage	Main aspects of socio-historical setting dealt with in:	Main linguistic properties dealt with in:
i) jargon stage	3.2.2.	4.2.
ii) stabilisation stage	3.2.3. and 3.2.4.	4.3.
iii) expansion stage	3.2.5.	4.4. and 4.5.
iv) creolisation stage	3.4.5.	4.6.
v) post-pidgin and post-creole stage	3.2.7. and 3.4.2.3.3.	4.5.

Before outlining NGP's socio-historical setting, attention must be drawn to the fact that the names given to the various political units and geographical regions in the area covered by present-day Papua New Guinea have been changed a number of times. Because of confusion about the use of such names, a number of conventions have been adopted in this study.

The term **New Guinea** is used to refer to the island of New Guinea as a whole; **New Guinea Islands** is used to refer to the islands of the **Bismarck Archipelago** together with Buka and Bougainville. **German New Guinea** is the name for the north-eastern part of New Guinea and the New Guinea Islands; after 1914 this area is referred to as the **Trust Territory of New Guinea**. The north-eastern part of New Guinea annexed by Germany is also known as **Kaiser-Wilhelmsland** (before 1915) or the **New Guinea Mainland**. The name **Papua** is reserved for the south-eastern part of New Guinea, whilst **Papua New Guinea** will be used to refer to the jointly administered Trust Territory of New Guinea and Papua after World War II and to the nation which became independent in 1975.

A second terminological convention adopted in this study is that the spelling **Beach-la-mar** refers to the varieties of Pacific Pidgin English spoken in various places in the 19th century whereas the spelling **Bichelamar** is reserved for modern New Hebridean Pidgin English.

3.2.2. *THE JARGON STAGE 1800-1860*

3.2.2.1. General Setting

The period preceding 1860 can be characterised as one of incipient contacts between Europeans and Pacific Islanders. The locality of this contact was the Pacific Ocean between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. The area of New Guinea and the Bismarck Sea featured only marginally as a contact area with the possible exception of New Ireland[1] which was situated within the shipping route from Australia to China.

The view most commonly put forward about these early contacts is that one can distinguish a number of partially overlapping waves, each wave being associated with one dominant economic activity, the three main ones before 1860 resulting from:[2]

i) The whaling industry, beginning at the end of the 18th century.

ii) The sandalwood trade, dominating the 1830s and 1840s.

iii) The trepang or bêche de mer trade in the 1840s and 1850s.

Since the main destination of many of these trading goods was the China ports (such as Hong Kong and Canton) it seems plausible that the contact-jargon which spread over the Pacific is related to Chinese Pidgin English, though the exact nature of this relationship is by no means clear. Speaking of the early history of Beach-la-Mar, Wurm (1971b:1007) writes: "It appears plausible to assume that Beach-la-Mar came into being through traders who were used to employing Chinese pidgin and were speaking it in contact situations involving South Sea natives." This view is also shared by Salisbury (personal communication, 3 July 1975):

> ... by 1850 a common pidgin was being used throughout the Pacific where trading vessels involved in the China trade called. Crews of mixed Chinese-Malay-Filipino-Polynesian-European origin with captains and supervisory staff of varied, but mainly European or American origin, traded in areas where numbers of the land-based traders were either of local or Chinese origin. Hawaii was obviously one main centre where most ships called; there was probably a little less of a trading population and permanent centre at Apia, Tongatabu and Papeete, but all had sizable port communities where crews met - although South China ports were presumably the main centres.

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[1] Early trading activities between Australia and the New Britain and New Ireland areas are also reported by Valentine (1958:73). As early as 1840 some New Irelanders were observed who could speak a little English (Valentine 1958:74 fn.2). However such contacts were relatively infrequent and of no importance outside this very restricted early contact area.

[2] A more detailed discussion of the early contact history and its relevance to the development of Pacific Pidgin English can be found in Churchill (1911:4-10) and Reinecke (1937:727-34).

Varieties of Jargon English were found in many parts of Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia.[1] Many of them have since disappeared, often without ever having been properly recorded. Whilst the author is in principal agreement with Churchill's statement that "there never was a permanent jargon based upon English and Polynesian" (1911:6), he does not want to exclude the possibility that more stable varieties of Beach-la-Mar or substandard varieties of English developed in areas of more permanent contact between Europeans and islanders, in particular trade and mission stations.

It appears, however, that the linguistic traditions differed from place to place, and that the shared linguistic properties of Beach-la-Mar were of a very rudimentary nature. Chinese Pidgin English may have reinforced some of these linguistic characteristics. Linguistic records from various localities suggest that varieties of Jargon English arose in an *ad hoc* way rather than through conventional methods of language transmission (cf. also R. Clark 1975 and 1977).

3.2.2.2. The Nature of the Contacts

The period before 1860 in the Pacific can be labelled as 'pre-colonial', in the sense that the Western Pacific Islands gradually became part of European trading interests although only limited efforts were made to establish regular colonies in this area. The contacts between Europeans and Pacific Islanders were generally restricted to trading relations ranging from short calls to replenish food and water supplies to more prolonged contacts required by the sandalwood and trepang trade. Some islanders experienced more intimate contact with the foreign traders whilst serving on board the trading vessels. The practice of recruiting islanders for these services was widespread and helped to satisfy the continued demand for crew as well as reducing the costs incurred by the ship's owners.

Although the Europeans were dominant with regard to their advanced technology, their numbers were insufficient for the exercise of social and political control and the parties involved in the various trade transactions therefore met on equal terms. Apart from a shared interest in trade, the partners in these transactions had little in common. The desire for non-intimacy was reinforced by distrust on both sides. The islanders, suspicious of the Europeans and aware of unpleasant encounters in the past, often remained hostile. The visitors on the other hand,

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[1] Reinecke (1937:727-30) has discussed the geographic distribution of early Jargon English, stressing the transient character of many of these forms of speech.

were convinced of the treacherous character of the native population. There was little desire to gain insights into customs and society or to overcome prejudices. The objective was to acquire a maximum number of economic assets in the shortest time possible.

The superficiality of these early contacts found its expression in the small number of people involved in communication across language boundaries and in the restricted geographic areas where these contacts took place.

With regard to the numbers of people availing themselves of broken English there is no known reliable data at present. It is certain, however, that the numbers were fairly small and that only very few of the males of individual South Seas island communities were able to enter into communication with visiting Europeans by means of broken English. Contemporary reports frequently mention the difficulty of finding even a single interpreter.[1]

3.2.2.3. The Locus of the Contact Jargon

Having outlined the general setting of Jargon English it remains to be asked how this jargon related to its users. It appears that one cannot refer to the group of users as a speech community nor can one point out clearly definable dialect areas; one can only point to a number of individuals in different localities who were able to enter into some sort of linguistic communication with visiting Europeans. Contact jargon was used only during sporadic visits by outsiders and not as a means of intertribal communication or as a special language of a diglossic speech community.

Even on islands with resident traders or missionaries the situation was not much different. Churchill (1911:8) refers to such:

> ... sporadic foci of evolution of some mongrel dialects, each narrowly restricted in essential conditions to one or at most to two white men, and the few communities of islanders with which they were in intimate contact. Being sedentary in their employment, the white men, as the principal actuating cause, were not in a position to become agents in disseminating their particular mongrel speech beyond the narrow limits of their influence, and, in the habitual hostility of the savage communities, this influence could never extend beyond the island upon which they were domiciled and seldom (save only in the case of the very smallest) attained to the whole of that island.

Moreover, Jargon English had no native speakers, its survival being entirely dependent on continued trade contacts and the opportunity to

[1] This difficulty was encountered in the New Guinea area until about 1900, as many contemporary reports of German recruiting activities indicate. (Cf. also Reinecke (1937:733), Parkinson (1887:29) and Schnee (1904:306).)

acquire a working knowledge of it. Its functions were very limited indeed. It virtually existed only to enable its users to enter into verbal communication about trade goods and perhaps to transmit orders on board the trading vessels.

3.2.2.4. Summary

The present knowledge of the early varieties of Jargon English is still very restricted and the situation is similar to that described by Reinecke (1937:727): "Despite the wide popular interest in Beach-la-Mar Pidgin English, neither its present geographic limits nor its origins have been definitely fixed."

However, it is hoped that research such as that begun by R. Clark (1975 and 1977) and Mühlhäusler (1977a) will eventually yield a better understanding of these forms of speech. It is likely that much valuable information is still buried in old manuscripts and printed work. In addition, observation of broken English spoken to visiting tourists and sailors on various Pacific islands today could provide supportive evidence about the character of the early contact situation.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that the relationship between the early varieties of Jargon English and later NGP is very indirect. As a consequence, sparse knowledge about the jargon stage does not constitute a great disadvantage for the description of the later stages of NGP's life cycle.

3.2.3. *THE DEVELOPMENT OF STABLE PIDGINS 1860-1880*

3.2.3.1. General Setting

By 1860 two new motives in the contact situation made themselves felt, the main one being the establishment of the plantation system and the associated labour trade or 'black-birding', whilst the second was the appearance of German trading interests in the Pacific.[1] Both developments signalled the beginning of a period in which relations between Europeans and islanders were no longer those of equals. Foreign interests clearly dominated the scene with the domination culminating in the forced mass-recruiting of islanders as labourers for the newly established plantations.

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[1] Laycock (1970a:ix) elaborates on this. However, he refers to the Queensland plantations as the principal source of NGP and does not mention the important influence of the Samoan plantations.

An important effect of the plantations was to give group identity to people from geographically different areas and a multitude of linguistic backgrounds. The forces responsible for the moulding of a plantation community also generated considerable pressure for effective verbal communication both horizontally, among the labourers, and vertically, between the workers and the white owners and supervisors.

Jargon English, which was already known on some previously contacted islands and which by 1860 appears to have been widely institutionalised as the means of communication between Europeans and Pacific islanders, was an obvious choice for a plantation lingua franca. Thus no Pidgin German ever developed, even in those plantations that were firmly under German control. The indentured workers employed on the plantations of Queensland, New Caledonia and Samoa found their native languages of very limited use because of their diversity of origin. The only means of communication shared by a substantial number of labourers was what little broken English they may have picked up back home or on board the recruiting vessels. This knowledge would then be reinforced by its use in communication with the white overseers and with workmates. This continued use of Pidgin English on a plantation resulted in the disappearance of a number of fluctuations found in the idiolects of individual workers and the acceptance of certain norms by all members of the linguistic community. Such norms served in turn as the model of linguistic performance for newcomers.

For the identured labourers life on the plantations meant a break with their past. People who had grown up in the traditions of their native island were suddenly brought into contact with western technologies and the capitalist economic system. This forced culture contact left a deep impression on those contacted and created a need to interpret the new social and economic realities through language. The development of plantation pidgins reflects this effort to make use of an inadequate means of linguistic communication to come to grips with a totally new experience, an effort made more difficult by the aloofness and reluctance of the Europeans to let the blacks gain insights into the functioning of their society.

The observations made by Genthe (1908:10) among the indentured labourers on the Samoan plantations can be regarded as representative of this situation:

> I believe that the prospect of being able to hear and use this language every day alone is a reward for the journey hither and for the communication with the black boys. There is hardly anything more fascinating from a psycholinguistic point of view than the halting efforts by these savages - removed for a few years during their time of contract on the

> plantation from the antediluvian way of life in their jungle homes - to linguistically find their way in the foreign world of the white man and to meet the incomprehensible attributes of European culture - millenia in advance of their own - through the use of newly formed verbal monsters composed from the thesaurus of three hundred terms which were brought to them through the contact with the Europeans.
>
> (author's translation)

The development of stable pidgins on the plantations was thus reinforced by the ghetto character of these locations, there being little contact between labourers and those living outside the plantations. The status of the workers *vis-à-vis* the indigenous population was low. In the initial years of the plantation system in Samoa, for instance, Samoans held blackboys in contempt, as reported by Stevenson (Colvin (ed.) 1911:7): "people whisper to each other that some of them have gone back to their horrid old habits, and catch men and women in order to eat them." Under these conditions intimate contact could not take place. Similarly, there was little contact between black workers and white plantation owners, reflecting the whites' desire to maintain social distance. The use of pidgin rather than standard English often served as a means of maintaining class distinctions.

On the whole, however, the main function of plantation pidgin was to enable communication between black people from different areas and its use between black and white was subordinate to this, being restricted to the giving and receiving of orders.

Apart from serving as catalysts for the crystallisation of stable pidgins, the plantations had the additional function of promoting the rapid spread of the stabilised pidgin back to the main recruiting areas. After the completion of the labour contract most (but by no means all) labourers were returned to their home island (cf. Laycock 1970a:x) to which they brought, apart from material goods of Western origin, a fair knowledge of Pidgin English. The prestige of the returned labourers among their people was considerable and a knowledge of this language in particular was considered highly desirable. The spread of stabilised Pidgin English is seen by Reinecke (1937:737) as follows:

> As the indentured laborers returned "little bit Christian", and as labor-recruiting and trading vessels plied more often among the Loyalty, Santa Cruz, and Solomon groups, Beach-la-mar, now no doubt a well-consolidated jargon, was spread throughout those islands.

Finally, the plantations had yet another effect, namely the creolisation of the early plantation pidgins. It is known that women as well as men were recruited for work on the various plantations. The proportion of women among the indentured labourers was never high, but sufficient to lead to numerous marriages and other forms of partnerships

between the sexes. The following figures (quoted from Reinecke 1937: 760) indicate employment on the Queensland sugar plantations:

Date	Males	Females	Total
1868	1,536	7	1,543
1871	2,255	81	2,336
1876	4,938	170	5,108
1881	5,975	373	6,348
1886	9,116	921	10,037
1891	8,498	745	9,243
1901	8,380	380	8,760
1911	1,404	335	1,739
1921	1,350	537	1,887

These figures only give the total black population for each year and not the number of new recruits. They clearly demonstrate the policy of the Queensland plantations, attacked by Jung (1885:296), to recruit a small number of women, one which created social problems and had to be revised in later years. The policy of the German plantations in Samoa, on the other hand, was to maintain a reasonable proportion of women to men (Jung 1885:282-98) and creolisation there was quite common, as will be pointed out in subsection 3.4.5.2.

3.2.3.2. Labour Trade in Melanesia

In discussing the Melanesian labour trade a distinction must be made between the main plantation areas of Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia and Samoa and the recruiting areas. The recruiting of external labour for the main plantation centres was necessitated by the lack or unsuitability of local labour. Economic developments on the plantations stimulated the demand for cheap labour to the extent that such demand could only be met by ruthless recruiting methods.

In the years between 1860 and 1883 the recruiters shifted their main area of activity several times,[1] concentrating their efforts on the following:

i) Loyalty Islanders in the early 1860s
ii) Banks, Kingsmill and Gilbert Islands in the late 1860s
iii) Santa Cruz and New Hebrides in the early 1870s
iv) Solomon Islands from 1872 to 1883
v) New Ireland and New Britain from 1879

[1] The gradual shift of recruiting grounds has been discussed at some length by Reinecke (1937:733-4). It must be noted, however, that the recruiters operating from Samoa did not entirely follow the pattern of the Queensland recruiters.

The following table representing the numbers and origins of labourers working on Samoan plantations gives a good indication of the shift in the recruiting grounds (cf. Moses 1973:102):

Year	Total No.	Kingsmill/ Gilbert Islands	Carolines	New Hebrides	Solomons	New Britain New Ireland
1867	81	81	-	-	-	-
1868	115	115	-	-	-	-
1869	40	40	-	-	-	-
1870	69	69	-	-	-	-
1871	48	48	-	-	-	-
1872	15	-	15	-	-	-
1873	438	358	80	-	-	-
1874	140	140	-	-	-	-
1875	280	280	-	-	-	-
1876	101	101	-	-	-	-
1877	251	251	-	-	-	-
1878	272	189	-	83	-	-
1879	718	115	-	570	-	33
1880	535	300	-	-	226	9
1881	378	-	-	179	199	-
1882	264	8	-	153	-	103
1883	355	2	-	29	37	287
1884	245	29	-	-	-	216
mid-1885	512	124	-	187	156	45

The reasons for this continuous shift of the blackbirders' hunting grounds include the increased cost of trade gifts needed to recruit workers and the fact that the presence of missions had made recruiting difficult in many areas. Speaking of changes in the pattern of recruiting for the Queensland plantations in the early 1880s, Corris (1968:87) states:

> The islanders around New Guinea were less sophisticated at this time than the New Hebrideans and Solomon Islanders. The Solomon Islanders had grown very aggressive in recent years. They had acquired considerable skill with rifles, and a spate of attacks on labour ships and traders had made recruiting there very hazardous, and a closer, safer source of supply welcome. The New Hebrideans had, by this time, become very knowing and the hard bargains they drove made voyages to this group long and expensive. Also, the presence of so many Presbyterian missionaries in the New Hebrides irked some of the less scrupulous recruiters and made New Guinea a more attractive field.

The islands around New Guinea, including New Britain and New Ireland, were reached by the Queensland recruiters only four years after the first recruits had been taken to Samoa. Recruiting in this area will be discussed in the following section (3.2.4.) since it is of direct relevance to the evaluation of theories about NGP's origin.

The main centres to which recruited labourers were shipped include:

i) New Caledonia from the late 1850s
ii) Queensland from 1863
iii) Fiji from the early 1860s
iv) Samoa from 1867

With the exception of Fiji[1] stable varieties of Pidgin English are reported from all these plantation centres.[2] In addition, there were smaller foci of stabilisation around mission and trading posts, in the Torres Straits islands for instance (cf. Ray 1907:251-5 and Dutton 1970:140-2). Unfortunately, data on the use of Pidgin English in this early period are very hard to come by.

The relative force of these foci in the shaping of the varieties of Pidgin English spoken in the main recruiting areas has yet to be established. The Queensland sugar plantations are mentioned most commonly as the source of the three main pidgins, NGP, Bichelamar of the New Hebrides (e.g. Camden 1975:1) and Solomon Islands Pidgin English (Hall 1955b:68). However, Reinecke (1937:737) has stressed the importance of the New Caledonian plantations for the latter two pidgins, whilst Mühlhäusler (1976) has pointed out the importance of the Samoan plantations for the development of NGP, a point which will be discussed in detail shortly.

The development of stable pidgins on the Pacific plantations and the principal recruiting areas before 1880, as well as their linguistic relationship to one another and earlier forms of pidginised English, can be presented, tentatively, in the following diagram:

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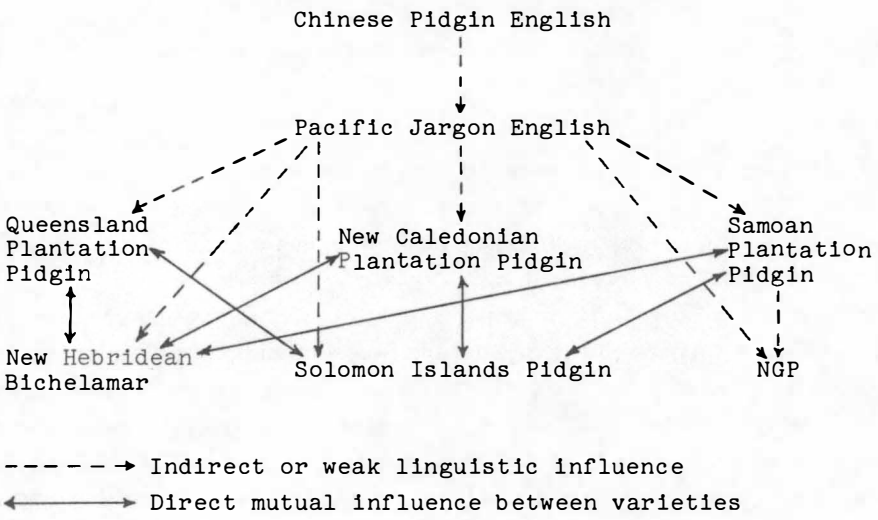
[1] This question is discussed in detail by Reinecke (1937:736). It appears that contact between imported labourers and native Fijians prevented the development of a stable Pidgin English in Fiji. Instead a form of Pidgin Fijian is reported to have been in widespread use both in Fiji itself and in the recruiting areas of the Fijian plantation.

[2] None of these pidgins is well described. However, Dutton has collected materials on Queensland Pidgin which it is hoped will be published soon. A brief description of New Caledonian Pidgin English and its replacement, Pidgin French, is given by Baker (1943:12-7) and Schuchardt (1881:151-61). The social setting and history of Samoan Plantation Pidgin has been described by the present author (Mühlhäusler 1976) though the linguistic data on this language still remain to be analysed in full.

PIDGIN ENGLISH IN THE PACIFIC BEFORE 1880



3.2.4. *THE YEARS 1880-1914: NGP ACQUIRES A SEPARATE IDENTITY*

3.2.4.1. Introduction

The development of a distinct variety of Pacific Pidgin English in the Bismarck Archipelago is related to i) the special relationship between this area and Samoa, and ii) the establishment of a German Protectorate over the Bismarck Archipelago and North Eastern New Guinea in 1884. Contacts between the Bismarck Archipelago and Samoa, in particular the continued recruiting of labour for plantations in Samoa, meant that significant numbers of New Guineans became exposed to a specifically Samoan variety of Pacific Pidgin English. The declaration of a German protectorate resulted in the severing of the tender links between NGP and other varieties of Pacific Pidgin English, in particular Queensland Pidgin. A further consequence was the virtual withdrawal[1] of English as a target language for its future linguistic development. Apart from laying the foundations for a separate development of NGP, the presence of the German colonial administration provided numerous stimuli for the functional and geographical expansion of this language.

[1] The withdrawal of English was never complete, since English settlers and traders remained a relatively important element in the expatriate community, particularly in the area of Rabaul. However, after 1900, the status of English came under increased attack. The dominance of Germans among the European population in the later years of colonisation is reflected by the fact that in 1914 they composed 750 out of 970 Europeans living in the colony (cf. Schnee, ed. 1937).

Since very little information about NGP's early development is readily available, the argument presented in this section will be supplemented by numerous quotations from original sources.

3.2.4.2. Theories About the Origin of NGP

The question of how NGP relates to the other varieties of Pacific Pidgin English and jargonised English has been debated in a number of places. Various hypotheses, ranging from mere speculations to some more serious proposals, have been put forward.

Some unlikely explanations include the suggestion that a variety of pidgin (presumably Chinese Pidgin English) was brought to German New Guinea by imported Chinese labour.[1] This theory has little to recommend it since NGP was already established before the arrival of the Chinese and since, moreover, these Chinese were recruited in the Dutch East Indies and Singapore and therefore spoke Coastal Malay, a pidginised form of Malay also known as Bazaar Malay (cf. Wendtland 1938:79 and Zöller 1891:416f.).

Equally unlikely is the claim that NGP "was invented and introduced by the Germans in order that they might speak before natives in their own tongue without being understood", a claim which has been discussed and dismissed by Reed (1943:271 fn.13). Helton (1940:5) gives a slightly different version of this theory:

> New Guinea Pidgin originated in a peculiar way. The Germans who originally occupied New Guinea, endeavoured to teach the natives to speak German as it was impossible to learn the numerous native dialects. The natives could not master the guttural sounds and the Germans who knew very little English, taught them the various English names of the articles they were using.

In fact, no attempts were made to teach the indigenes German until well after the firm establishment of NGP in German New Guinea (cf. section 3.3.4.).

As is the case with the views about the linguistic origins of Solomon Islands Pidgin and Bichelamar discussed in the previous section, the claim that NGP originated on the Queensland sugar plantations has been supported by a strong body of opinion (e.g. Hall 1955:32; Laycock 1970a:x; Mihalic 1973:8; and Wurm in Dutton 1973:iv). Wurm (1966:51) has summed up this view as follows:

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[1] A rather confused version of this view is given by R.W. Robson (1965:195):

> Pidgin was brought to New Guinea by Chinese labourers who were first introduced by the German Chartered Company, about 1889. Pidgin was enlarged and forced upon the native community by the official Germans, who insisted that the natives should not learn German. "Pidgin" is said to be a phonetic representation of the Chinese labourers' attempt to say "business" ....

> New Guinea Pidgin came into being as the direct result of the use of indentured native labour on the sugarcane plantations of North Queensland, from approximately the middle of the last century to the first years of the twentieth. These natives, who were brought to Australia by the so-called "black-birders", sailors who were engaged in the special activity of providing native labour for the plantations, were largely from the New Britain and Solomon Islands areas, with a prominent part of them from Northern New Britain. The language of many of the latter was Tolai.

The untenability of this claim, at least in its strongest form, was first shown by Salisbury (1967:44-8). He pointed out that:

> Very few Tolai went as labourers to Queensland - my own guess would be less than a hundred. Most labourers came from the New Hebrides and the Solomons. Attention turned to the New Guinea Islands only in early 1883.

Salisbury goes on to state that recruiting of labourers from the Bismarck Archipelago for the Queensland plantations only occurred in 1883 and 1884. This episode in the Pacific labour trade has been dealt with by Corris (1968:85-105). Unfortunately, the evidence he makes available does not indicate i) how many labourers from New Britain and New Ireland were brought to Queensland (Parkinson 1887:35 mentions 1,500), ii) how many of them were returned, and iii) how long they were employed for. Corris mentions the high mortality rate of these workers and their unsiutability for work in Queensland and it appears that these two factors significantly reduced the importance of the Queensland plantations for NGP's development. However, until more information becomes available, it is best to postpone judgement.

The view held by Salisbury himself is that an already stabilised form of Pidgin English was brought to the Bismarck Archipelago by traders and missionaries prior to 1881 and that this pidgin subsequently underwent a number of structural changes under the impact of the Tolai language. In a recent paper Mühlhäusler (1976) has drawn attention to evidence suggesting that early trading and other contacts between the Bismarck Archipelago and Samoa, as well as the recruiting of large numbers of indigenes from New Britain and New Ireland for the Samoan plantations of the Godeffroy trading company and its successor the Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft (henceforth D.H. and P.G.), must have contributed significantly to NGP's development. These two influences will now be discussed.

3.2.4.3. Early Contacts Between the Bismarck Archipelago and Samoa

Many of the expatriates living in the area of New Britain, the Duke of York Islands and New Ireland in the 1870s and 1880s had come from Samoa. Among them there were a number of Wesleyan Samoan missionaries,

Queen Emma[1] and her numerous relations, traders from the Samoan based firm of Godeffroy and, in later years, recruiters engaged in labour trade for the Samoan plantation controlled by the Godeffroys. Among the trading and recruiting posts, a full list of which can be found in a government white paper (Weissbuch 1885:152ff.), the following stations deserve special attention since they were situated in the limited area round the Duke of York group of islands which must be regarded as the focal point of contacts between New Guinea and Samoa, from which NGP was spread over German New Guinea:

i) The Godeffroy trading station on Mioko Island

The Godeffroy company established a trading post, staffed by two or three whites, in 1876, which served as a centre for miscellaneous trading activities in the New Britain/New Ireland area. Due to its excellent harbour and its large-scale trading activities it was the centre of European enterprise in the Bismarck Archipelago and remained so well into the 1880s. It then began to decline, due to the lack of a viable hinterland and the emergence of other bigger trading centres on New Britain. In the years after 1885 the importance of Mioko shifted from that of a trading post to that of a recruiting centre for the plantations of both the D.H. and P.G. in Samoa and the New Guinea Company of New Britain on the New Guinea mainland.

The main importance of Mioko for the history of NGP lies in the fact that it functioned as a transit camp for both newly recruited labourers and those who returned from the Samoan plantations:

> On the German side they have begun to develop labour depots in convenient localities, where labourers of a group are collected until they are picked up by a vessel assigned to this purpose. Such a depot has been erected on Mioko Island in the Duke of York group. A schooner is engaged continuously in recruiting people in the Bismarck Archipelago and in bringing them hither, whereas a number of larger vessels are destined to export the labourers to Samoa.
>
> (Jung 1885:284, author's translation)

ii) The Farrell trading company

In 1878, Queen Emma and the trader Farrell established themselves in Mioko from where they expanded their trading and plantation activities to the neighbouring islands and the Blanche Bay of New Britain. By 1882 the business of Farrell and Co. was growing rapidly and earlier plans to establish plantations in the Blanche Bay could be realised.

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[1] 'Queen Emma' was the name given to the part-Samoan, part-American woman who, together with the trader Farrell, started an important trading and plantation 'empire' in the area of the Duke of York Islands and the Blanche Bay of New Britain. A popularising biography of Queen Emma has been written by R.W. Robson (1965).

Instead of relying on the allegedly untrustworthy natives of the Blanche Bay, about 150 labourers from Buka and Bougainville who had formerly worked in Samoa (cf. Oertzen 1883:10) were employed on the first Farrell plantation at Ralum (cf. also Weissbuch 1885:160). Queen Emma and the other expatriates working for the Farrell company used Pidgin English to communicate with these workers and in their dealings with the local population of the Duke of Yorks (cf. R.W. Robson 1965:195, Parkinson 1887:29).

iii) Other trading and recruiting posts in the Duke of Yorks

In the late 1870s the brothers Hernsheim from Hamburg established themselves on Matupi Island in the Blanche Bay from where they engaged not only in numerous trading operations but also in the recruiting of natives from New Ireland for service on Matupi (cf. Corris 1968:87). The role of the Duke of Yorks as a centre of labour trade was further enhanced by the establishment of a recruiting station on Kerewara Island by the New Guinea Company.

iv) Early mission posts

Mission work in the Duke of Yorks began in the early 1870s. It was carried out under the auspices of the Methodist Missionary Society by the Rev. Brown and a number of Samoan and Fijian missionaries. The author has been informed (Hank Nelson, personal communication) that the first sermon in Pidgin English was preached in 1875. A full history of the early mission contacts but, unfortunately, very few remarks on Pidgin English, can be found in Brown's autobiography (Brown 1908).

It is difficult to fully reconstruct the linguistic situation in these early years of German and Samoan contacts with the Bismarck Archipelago. However, there is strong evidence that:

i) A variety of Pidgin English became institutionalised within the limited area around the Duke of York Islands (cf. Valentine 1958: 73-4).

ii) Pidgin English began to spread to New Britain and New Ireland in the early 1880s (cf. Reinecke 1937:738, Schuchardt 1881:154).

iii) Pidgin English was used by recruiters operating from Samoa or on behalf of Samoan plantation interests (cf. Parkinson 1887:29).

iv) Pidgin English was used by the Samoan expatriates in their dealings with the local population and with plantation workers from Buka employed on the first plantation in the Bismarck Archipelago at Ralum.

It seems likely that the kind of Pidgin English used in these early years was influenced by the varieties spoken in Samoa at the time, i.e.

the stable Samoan Plantation Pidgin (henceforth SPP) or the less stable types of Jargon English spoken around Apia. However, the full impact of stable SPP was felt only after larger numbers of Bismarck islanders had returned from the Samoan plantations. This will now be considered.

3.2.4.4. Labour Trade Between German New Guinea and Samoa

The declaration of a German protectorate over parts of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago was motivated by the desire to protect German trading interests and to preserve the Bismarck Archipelago as a source of cheap labour for German plantation interests in Samoa.[1] From 1884 until the early 1890s the importance of German New Guinea was indeed as a pool of labour for the D.H. and P.G. Local plantations developed only slowly in the first years of German control, though their significance increased after 1900.

The shipping of plantation workers from the Duke of York-Blanche Bay-New Ireland area to the Samoan plantations began in 1879 and grew in importance in subsequent years. Since around 1,000 workers were employed on these plantations at any one time and since the term of contract was three years, the annual requirement was around 300 workers. The following table indicates the numbers of New Guineans involved in the labour trade with Samoa:

[1] It has been suggested, for instance, by Nelson (1972:16) that Germany's decision to declare its protectorate over New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago was at least partly motivated by the potential of this area as a source of labour for the Samoan plantations.

	Recruitments	Deaths
1879	33	?
1880	9	?
1881	?	?
1882	103	?
1883	287	?
1884	216	?
1885	55	?
1886	?	?
1887	269	108
1888	87	31
1889		
1890	343	121
1891	52	18
1892		
1893	158	50
1894	297	67
1895	179	25
1896	164	63
1897	220	39
1898	206	19
1899	240	62
1900	247	54
1901	98	14
1902	384	79
1903	103	29
1904	332	58
1905	201	40
1906	179	31
1907	159	11
1908	204	53
1909	291	44
1910	350	58
1911	348	56
1912	174	7
	5,988	1,137

The sources of these figures are Firth (1973:327) and Moses (1973:102). Parkinson (1887:35) provides higher figures for the years 1883 and 1884. No reliable information is available for 1881 and 1886. Other statistical information presented by Firth (1973) demonstrates three additional important facts:

i) More than 50% of all labourers recruited for Samoa came from New Ireland.

ii) About 20% originated from the Gazelle Peninsula.

iii) No labourers were recruited from the New Guinea mainland and less than 1% from the British Solomon Islands.

Information about the percentage of female recruits is unreliable. Jung (1885:296) praises the efforts of the D.H. and P.G. to employ reasonable proportions of female workers, and Thurnwald (1910:620) mentions that, in the years from 1905 to 1907, 150 women were recruited for Samoa and German Micronesia. A rough guess is that about one quarter of the black labourers in Samoa were women. These figures, together with other evidence which will be presented shortly, strongly suggest that the influence of SPP, the variety of Pacific Pidgin English which had developed on the Samoan Plantations after 1868, on NGP was very significant, particularly in the years before 1890. This significance is enhanced by linguistic evidence which suggests that the stabilisation of Pidgin English in the Bismarck Archipelago took place between 1881 and 1890 (cf. Salisbury 1967:46-7).

When recruitment for Samoa began in New Ireland and New Britain, a knowledge of any variety of broken English was very rarely encountered (cf. Parkinson 1887:29). Thus, the majority of the recruits arrived on the Samoan plantations with little or no previous knowledge of Pidgin English other than that which they may have picked up in the transit camp on Mioko Island or on board the vessels which took them to Samoa.

Between 1882 and 1890 about 500 workers were returned to the Bismarck Archipelago after three years employment on the Samoan plantations. The importance of these returned labourers is twofold. First, they were agents for the spread of SPP back to the recruiting areas in the Bismarck Archipelago. This is confirmed in a number of sources, including:

i) In spite of the virginity of this country (i.e. south of New Ireland) with regard to white visitors there were a number of natives who could speak a broken Pidgin English. They had acquired their knowledge whilst working on plantations in the Bismarck Archipelago or Samoa.

(*DKZ* 1913, vol.30/24:406 - author's translation)

ii) Stephan and Graebner (1907:21) mention that pidgin-speaking young men could be found in every coastal village in New Ireland. One of their interpreters was

Jonni, aged about twenty-six who originally came from the Laur region of the east coast but who had come to Samoa while he was still a young boy and who had served long terms of employment as a sailor and plantation worker.

(author's translation)

iii) In an article on the early days of European presence in New Ireland the *Samoan Times* (6 March 1916) refers to the life of a man called Tom Simbo who

> having returned from the high school of the plantation labourers, Samoa, equipped with all sorts of information including a knowledge of Pidgin English, was led by his spirit for adventure to a white trader in New Ireland.
>
> (author's translation)

iv) A last example was found in a travel book by Krämer-Bannow (1916: 20):

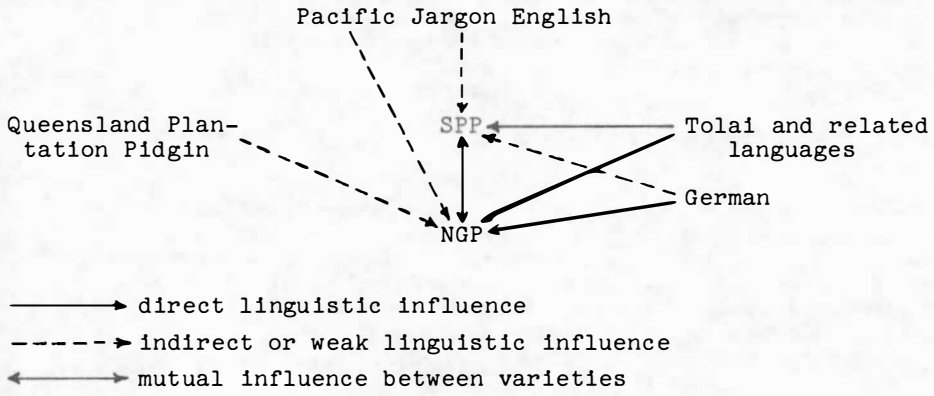
> For the rest, one had to rely on the ghastly, incomplete Pidgin English of the Bismarck Archipelago, a knowledge of which has also penetrated here, being brought by returned workers. Among them were the heads of the neighbouring villages: Tamapipe of Kambitengteng, Toelilian of Piglinbui, and Anis of Tano, who had been a worker in Samoa, together with a few others who had a smattering of Pidgin.
>
> (author's translation)

Second, returning workers from Samoa were sometimes re-employed on plantations in the Bismarck Archipelago and possibly the New Guinea mainland. Unfortunately, the only firm evidence known to the author is that the first plantation in this area, that of the Farrell company at Ralum, employed mainly workers from Buka and Bougainville who had previously served in Samoa. However, it seems very likely that other plantations followed this example. Jung (1885:298) remarks: "In New Britain, a staff of skilled labourers would be immediately at hand who have absolved their apprenticeship on the plantations in Samoa." (author's translation). The role of the ex-Samoan workers on the new plantations in German New Guinea would have been that of providing a linguistic model for the inexperienced workers freshly recruited from various parts of the Bismarck Archipelago. It is hoped that further evidence for this hypothesis will be forthcoming.

The linguistic consequences of labour trade between the Bismarck Archipelago and Samoa appear to be twofold. First, a stable pidgin (SPP) was spread through parts of German New Guinea by returning labourers. Second, a number of structural changes occurred in SPP, caused by the influx of large numbers of workers from the linguistically relatively homogeneous area of the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of Yorks and Southern New Ireland. This meant that SPP was changed into a New Guinean variety of Pidgin English probably before 1900. Since a similar linguistic development of Pidgin English took place on the plantations in German New Guinea, it has become impossible in many cases to retrospectively determine which of the linguistic features of stable NGP originated in Samoa and which originated locally.

The hypothesis about the origin of NGP presented here can be summarised in the following diagram:

LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES CONTRIBUTING TO THE STABILISATION OF NGP



The question of Samoan influences on NGP will be left here. Information about SPP and its subsequent development can be found in a paper by the author (Mühlhäusler 1976). The remainder of this section will deal with developments within German New Guinea.

3.2.4.5. Labour Trade and Plantations in German New Guinea

Progress in the field of plantation economy was very slow in the first years of German administration. Charter company colonisation under the New Guinea Company was a failure and more favourable economic conditions began only after the German government had assumed full control over the territory in 1899. Firth (1973:3) argues that the economic fiasco sprung from the New Guinea Company's failure to: "recruit mainland New Guineans for work on the plantations. It lacked both a trading network, which could have made them economically dependent, and sufficient military power to force them to work."

The labour problem facing German plantation interests in the first years was overcome partly by the recruiting of Chinese and Malay labourers from Singapore and the Dutch East Indies. Their employment was restricted to plantations on the New Guinea mainland, and took place mainly before 1900. Immigration of free Chinese to the Bismarck Archipelago after 1900 followed different lines and need not be considered here (cf. Biskup 1970:85-107). The number of Malay and Chinese workers employed by the New Guinea Company in the period before 1900 was as follows:

Year	Chinese	Malay
1885		37
1886		101
1887		?
1888	?	?
1889	85	125
1890	104	270
1891	593	336
1892	(?) 1,085	757
1893	420	530
1894	519	431
1895	466	564
1896	308	514
1897	167	254
1898	125	186

(source: Blum 1900:117)

Thereafter, the number of these workers declined rapidly.

The presence of many Coastal Malay-speaking Malay and Chinese, greatly outnumbering the Melanesian workers employed in Kaiser Wilhelmsland during this period, led to the firm establishment of Coastal Malay as the lingua franca and plantation language of this part of the German colony. Wendtland (1939:76) made the following remarks about its use in Stephansort, then the administrative seat of the Company:

> ... when dealing with the Javanese the Europeans made use of Coastal Malay .... Similarly, most of the Chinese coolies, of whom many had previously worked in the tobacco plantations of Sumatra, used Coastal Malay, and in Stephansort the Melanesians soon learnt so much of this language through communication with these races, that Pidgin English, which was otherwise spoken all over the South Seas, was rather pushed into the background in Stephansort.
>
> (author's translation)

Schellong (1934:36) reports a sililar situation in Finschhafen and Hatzfeldhafen. It led Blum (1900:166) to remark that: "It would certainly be a neglect of duty on the part of the government officials if ... those working in Kaiser Wilhelmsland did not learn Coastal Malay." (author's translation). Coastal Malay was also current outside the plantations and government stations in the areas bordering on Dutch New Guinea, where it was spread by Malay traders and bird of paradise hunters.[1] However, with the decline in imported Chinese and Malay

[1]Additional notes on the Malay language in New Guinea can be found in Roosman (1975: 229-30).

labourers and with adverse mission and government policies, it rapidly declined after 1900 (cf. also Mühlhäusler 1975d:102).

The situation on the plantations in the Bismarck Archipelago, particularly those around the Blanche Bay of New Britain, was quite different from that on the New Guinea mainland. The labourers employed here were all Melanesian, most of them originating from New Ireland, New Britain, Buka and Bougainville. Following the example of the Farrell plantations near Ralum, NGP was universally adopted as the lingua franca, both between white supervisors and plantation labourers and among the labourers themselves. Schuchardt (1881:154) reports that NGP began to spread through New Britain in the early 1880s and Daiber (1902:285) refers to it as an already deeply entrenched lingua franca.

As was the case on the mainland, the initial growth of the plantation economy on the New Guinea islands was slow and remained overshadowed by the flourishing plantations on Samoa, which provided employment for more workers from the Bismarck Archipelago than the local plantations until the early 1890s. Rapid expansion of the plantations around Rabaul only took place after 1900, as can be seen from the following figures.

Number of Melanesian labourers employed in the Bismarck Archipelago:[1]

1884	150	1899	c.1,600
1885	250	1900	c.2,000
1886	270	1901	c.2,500
1887	320	1902	3,323
1888	370	1903	3,435
1889	420	1904	3,954
1890	550	1905	3,504
1891	739	1906	?
1892	1,040	1907	5,224
1893	1,150	1908	5,962
1894	1,380	1909	5,993
1895	1,600	1910	6,291
1896	1,819	1911	8,112
1897	1,813	1912	9,306
1898	1,908	1913	11,035
		1914	13,600

(sources: Blum (1900:117) and Firth (1973:144))

[1] The number of Melanesian labourers employed on the New Guinea mainland was relatively small in comparison, i.e. fewer than 1,000 before 1900 and only about 4,000 in 1914. This indicates that NGP was spread later and less rapidly on the mainland.

These figures reflect the fact that the imperial government had learnt its lesson from the failures of the New Guinea Company period. The new administration after 1899 set out to pacify new recruiting areas and improve the infrastructure of the colony and introduced a head-tax as a means of bringing the native population to work for money (cf. Firth 1973:3-4).

Before 1899 only a handful of stations were in the control of the white colonisers, these being Finschhafen, Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen, Stephansort and various smaller stations in the Duke of York-Blanche Bay area. After 1899 the following government posts were established in quick succession:

Kavieng	1900
Namatanai	1904
Kieta	1905
Aitape	1906
Morobe	1909
Manus	1911
Angoram	1913
Lae	1914

The main labour recruiting areas did not quite coincide with the administrative areas, and until late in the German period the New Guinea mainland was underrepresented among plantation labourers. Between 1887 and 1903 the seven most important recruiting areas were Northern New Ireland, Southern New Ireland, Gazelle Peninsula, Buka, Bougainville, and the islands east of New Ireland and New Hannover, in that order. New recruiting areas opened up after 1903 included Aitape, Morobe, Manus and the area of the lower Sepik River.[1] As they were established, so NGP was introduced into these areas.

The method commonly employed to speed up this process was to forcefully bring a number of men from the newly opened recruiting area to an established government station and instruct them in the basic principles of communication in NGP. Nolde (1966:65) describes this as follows:

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[1] Eckert (1938:122) reports that, in 1911, out of 7,542 newly recruited labourers 938 came from the Madang area, 929 from Aitape and 276 from Morobe. The gradual shift in the recruiting areas is also reflected in the fact that: "Between 1908 and 1913 recruitment in the south and west of the old protectorate increased by more than 400%, whereas in the north and east the increase was only 85%." (Firth 1973:173)

> We often encountered some of the wild men who had arrived with us on the steamer .... The purpose of their forced stay in Rabaul was to gradually acquire means of communication, be it gestures, the customary 'Pidgin English' or German concepts and words. After this had been achieved after many months, they were returned to their home villages taking with them all sorts of cheap finery. The returned men had to serve as interpreters, when agents of the planters tried to recruit men for work on the plantation.
>
> (author's translation)

Firth (1973:168) discusses a similar example of the forced spread of NGP following an alleged conspiracy in the Madang area:

> At village after village from Mugil Harbour to Hansa Bay the patrol would arrive, persuade one man to accompany them back to Madang in order to learn Pidgin, or if there were Pidgin speakers already, appoint a luluai and a couple of tultuls; then all the strong young men might be conscripted for forced labour in Madang and orders given that 20 new coconut palms had to be planted for every able-bodied man in the village.

The opening of new recruiting areas can thus be seen as the beginning of a process during which NGP made deeper and deeper inroads into the New Guinea mainland as well as newly pacified islands such as Manus. Once the pattern of recruiting was established the spread of NGP took care of itself. Workers would return to their villages after three years of contract labour and the attraction of the European goods carried home by these olbois (*'experienced labourers'*) would motivate the next generation of young men to follow their example. NGP thus came to be regarded as the key to new wealth and the prestige it enjoyed among its New Guinean speakers can hardly be overrated. This spread of NGP set in motion by the German administration can still be observed today in outlying areas such as the Southern Highlands or the areas bordering on Irian Jaya.

A last point which must be raised concerning the plantation system in German New Guinea is that of the location of these plantations. It has already been pointed out that the Samoan plantations provided the most important place of employment for New Guineans in NGP's early formative years. Since most of the labourers employed in Samoa originated from the area around the Duke of York Islands, influence from Tolai and closely-related languages made itself felt in SPP. With the plantations of the Blanche Bay area becoming the most important centre of employment in later years, it is highly likely that Tolai and its related languages continued to be of great importance in the shaping of NGP. The NGP spoken around Rabaul gradually developed not only into the most important but also into the prestige variety of this language (cf. Hall 1959:22).

Summarising this section on labour trade and plantations it can be said that the system constituted the most important factor in the shaping of the linguistic and social characteristics of NGP. By the time German control over New Guinea came to an end NGP was firmly established throughout the coastal districts of the New Guinea mainland, a short distance inland along the main rivers (particularly the Sepik) and in the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. Reed (1943:285) estimated the number of NGP speakers at about 15,000 but, considering the numbers of local recruits who had already served a term on the plantations, the number could easily have been twice as many. More important, the mechanism for the spread of NGP outside the plantation areas had been firmly established and a knowledge of this language had become a desirable asset for the younger portion of the population.

3.2.4.6. Other Stimuli Provided by the German Presence

Labour recruiting and the plantation system undoubtedly were central factors in the stabilisation and spread of NGP. However, without the operation of a third factor they would not have resulted in its phenomenal expansion in the later years of German control. This third factor has been described as the arrival of a 'pax Germanica', i.e. the gradual pacification of German New Guinea, the termination of intertribal warfare and the expansion of effective government control over wide areas. Whereas recruiting and plantations affected only a small part of the population for a limited period of time, the spread of government control affected a much larger group permanently.

'Pax Germanica' was promoted by both the administration and the missions. Their activities created, for the first time in the history of New Guinea, an atmosphere in which large-scale communication across tribal boundaries became possible and even desirable. The agents of pacification in the country, namely the police force and the government officers, helped the spread of NGP. Moreover, a new system of village administration, the luluai-tultul system, was created. One of the tultul's main functions was that of an interpreter; tultuls were usually men who had served a term on a plantation and were fluent speakers of NGP.[1] Increased status of its speakers together with an association

[1] Friederici (1911:93) writes with regard to the village administration system:

> Generally speaking no one from the younger generation will become luluai, kukurai or tultul who doesn't understand Pidgin English, for practical reasons. One of the main reasons which motivated the luluai Panake of Lamassa to give his eldest son Borrom to me was the wish that this young man, his expected successor, should learn Pidgin English with my boys. (author's translation)

with the new material wealth brought by the Europeans, enhanced the prestige of NGP and promoted the readiness of the native population to learn it. Within a few years it was deeply entrenched in the areas controlled by the administration, being learnt by many children and young men. NGP became a symbol of a new social system and its rapid spread reflected the eagerness of most tribes contacted to participate. With the consolidation of German control, NGP came to be used in a number of new situational contexts, involving both interaction among New Guineans and between them and Europeans. The following ones deserve to be mentioned:

i) Domestic context

An increasing number of New Guineans were hired as domestic servants, workers in mission kitchens, clubs and other institutions. This resulted in closer contact between the races, albeit on unequal terms, than in the previous plantation and trading situations. This contact is reflected in the adoption of a large number of new lexical items from this sphere, the majority of them of German origin.

ii) Workshops

The diversifying economy of the later years of German presence led to the establishment of a number of vocational schools and the employment of New Guineans in various trades, particularly building and carpentry. Many mission stations offered instruction in skills such as sewing. Again these developments are reflected by the presence of a number of lexical items of German origin in NGP.

iii) Medical work

In the later years of colonisation, the German administration set up a health service based on **heiltultuls**, i.e. local medical orderlies able to perform simple medical tasks in the village context.

iv) The police force[1]

In the absence of a significant number of German military units, the police force with its native **sutman** (*'constables'*) was an important method of establishing law and order in the colony. The local members of the police force were regarded as highly competent speakers of NGP, a skill acquired as a result of the high regional mobility of their work and the close contacts with their German superiors from whom they learnt new modes of expression. Numerous remarks on the use of NGP by the police force and many examples are given by Detzner (1921).

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[1] Officially police boys were trained only in German (cf. Zöller 1891:46). However, the language actually used both between the white commanders and the police boys and among the latter themselves was NGP. Cf. Friederici (1911:99): "Every police boy and every worker can speak Pidgin English at the end of his period of service." (author's translation)

v) The courts

Adequate linguistic communication was very important in this domain. A number of references deal with NGP's use in court transactions, comments about its suitability ranging from condemnation to careful approval. Neffgen (1915) refers to a case in Rabaul to demonstrate the awkwardness of NGP.[1]

> A short time ago - in Rabaul I think - a judge was unable to settle a law-suit between a German and a Chinaman, as the negotiations between the two parties had been carried out in pidgin-English, and there were many different interpretations on account of his being unable to express himself clearly.

Friederici (1911:103), however, points out that the success of NGP as a language of the courts depended entirely on the judge's proficiency in NGP. He compares the efficiency of the district commissioner of Kavieng, Mr Boluminski, in handling court cases with the pathetic performance of a newly arrived judge.

3.2.4.7. NGP as a Language of Power and Solidarity

In communication between the colonial administration and the native population NGP was initially intended for the downward transmission of orders, since it was regarded as unsuitable for any other situation. The following remark by Sankoff (1976:299) characterises this:

> The regimented character of the contacts between villagers and visiting whites in the early colonial period ... made for a strong association between Tok Pisin and authoritative behaviour. Tok Pisin was demonstrably a language in which one could give orders and expect to be obeyed.

Apart from this, NGP also served to preserve non-intimacy between the races. Bateson (1944:140-1) notes these two functions of NGP in colonial society, functions which survived the German colonial system for almost 50 years:

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[1] Another case study involving the use of NGP in court proceedings was given by Neuhauss (1911:184-5). The writer believes that this language is completely inadequate for this purpose:

> In addition to the completely different conceptions of law there is in court dealings the complicating factor of language. The proceedings are carried out in Pidgin as the official does not understand the local language. Now Pidgin is completely adequate for giving orders: do this, do that, go there, get my gun, etc. .... This double Dutch fails completely, however, when it comes to expressing abstract concepts and clarifying complex situations. Finally the judge imagines that he has made everything clear in the proceedings, whilst the black party is thinking of the famous millwheel in Goethe's Faust. [I.e. is in complete confusion - author's note]. Quite apart from the difficulty of expressing himself correctly in Pidgin the black is also so confused by the whole nature of the court proceedings that he can no longer make a clear statement about the simplest occurrences.
>
> (author's transation)

> The Pidgin world is characterized, too, by overtly recognized caste structure. The line between white and native is recognized by both sides and is regarded by both sides as based on superiority and inferiority. Most of the native cultures of New Guinea are almost without hierarchical structure; chieftainship is comparatively rare; and there is little to correspond to the elaborate status systems of Indonesia and Polynesia. The native, therefore, when he enters the Pidgin world, must take on patterns which are foreign to him, - he must act out the role of inferiority vis-à-vis the white man, and if he becomes a boss-boy or a member of the native constabulary he must act out the role of superiority vis-à-vis the other natives. He learns to do this without much difficulty, but the presence of this hierarchical theme in the Pidgin culture means that the whole system of Pidgin life is foreign to him. It is a culture put on in late adolescence, not one for which he was prepared in early infancy.
>
> In sum, it appears that Pidgin is not a means whereby the white man communicates white thoughts, nor is it a means by which the native communicates native thoughts. It is another world in which white man and native meet. In this other world they feel that they communicate fully and richly, but the matter of this communication is not closely related to the system of life in which either of them grew up.

Although it is undeniably true that NGP was an instrument of power for the ruling classes of German New Guinea, the presence of the German administration and the new society taking shape at the time promoted a feeling of solidarity among the colonised peoples. NGP first became a means of integration and solidarity on the plantations where workers from diverse tribal backgrounds brought together for a few years formed a community. Smaller, but nonetheless important, multitribal communities were found on the various government stations, in the police force and on the missions.

Towards the end of German administration the primary function of NGP had shifted from that of communication between whites and blacks to that of a lingua franca for New Guineans of diverse ethnic backgrounds. However, the new contact culture, whose main symbol was NGP, assumed significant proportions only in the late 1920s and will therefore be discussed later on.

3.2.4.8. The Germans as Speakers of NGP

It has been mentioned in the introduction to this section that English was largely withdrawn from New Guinea during German control. This statement needs some qualification, for it is well known that English continued to function as the lingua franca of the whites in Rabaul at least in the years before 1900. This fact, widely deplored by nationalistic Germans, was the result of the early contact between Samoa and the Blanche Bay area. Thus, the presence of Queen Emma and her numerous relatives had established the use of English; this was further reinforced by the presence of English speaking missionaries in

this area.[1] However, there are indications that German replaced English as the lingua franca of the whites in Rabaul in later years, an observation supported by the fact that the descendants of Queen Emma in present-day Rabaul still speak German among themselves on certain occasions.

The Germans, unlike the Australians who succeeded them, took NGP seriously, regarding it as a separate language which had to be learnt, if possible from its local speakers:[2] "The Germans, therefore arrived to find that they must learn a language which was not their own. They were not tempted, as the English are, to make the language more like their own, but simply learned it as a foreign language." (Bateson 1944: 137). Proficient speakers of NGP were found among the Germans on the outstations, plantations and recruiting and trading vessels. The author is not aware of any official publication enabling newcomers to acquire NGP, though this is conceivable since a pidgin phrasebook was prepared for the use of German settlers and government officials in the Cameroons (see Hagen 1908).

3.2.5. *THE YEARS BETWEEN THE WARS: EXPANSION OF NGP*

3.2.5.1. General Setting

The notion of expansion of a pidgin refers to both its acquisition of new syntactic and lexical devices and to its becoming capable of fulfilling new communicative functions, i.e. its becoming a language in which an increasing range of topics can be meaningfully discussed and which serves, at least in some areas, as a means of self-expression for its users.

Todd (1974b:50) has drawn attention to the fact that expanded (extended) pidgins and creoles develop in multilingual areas only:[3]

> Where the contact is between two languages only, one or both groups acquire the other language, either keeping or relinquishing their own in the process. But in a multilingual area, a lingua franca, accessible to all groups, is essential if viable and mutual communication is to occur.

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[1] Some notes on the presence of English speaking missionaries in the early years of colonisation can be found in Oertzen (1885:346). Fellmann (1906:253), however, reports that a knowledge of the German language was made compulsory for all missionaries in 1904/05.

[2] Friederici (1911:93) remarks about NGP that: "Nobody will be able to make himself understood in it usefully who imagines that he can learn it merely from another European." (author's translation)

[3] This explains why the closely related SPP spoken on the Samoan plantations never developed into an expanded pidgin but remained restricted to a plantation pidgin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975b).

Such a situation was found in German New Guinea when the British and Australian forces took over. The influence of the government and missions continued to create a situation in which communication across tribal and geographical boundaries became increasingly common and desirable.

By 1914 NGP was in common usage in the areas under German administration and this state of affairs was regarded with satisfaction at first:

> The experimental attempts in introducing the German language amongst them has, however, utterly failed, whereas most of them can speak a quasi English - "Pidgin English" - as it is called probably from "Beach English", signifying the fragments of English picked up by the coast population from early traders. It is extremely interesting that a German in speaking to his native servant must resort to English, and it proves that also in regard to languages "the fittest survive".
>
> (*New Guinea Gazette*: 15 November 1914:vol.1,3)

However, the satisfaction that English was used as the lingua franca in a German colony soon gave way to disappointment over the fact that it was a "barbarous and corrupted" variety, often thought to be the result of the German inability to teach the natives proper English. Henly's wish that this jargon should be discontinued as soon as possible and replaced by "good, plain, understandable English" (Henly 1927:21) was probably shared by most officials of the Australian administration.

It is commonly accepted that "when the Australians ousted the Germans in 1914, the situation with regard to NGP continued as before." (Hall 1955a:37). However, it appears that this statement cannot be subscribed to without some modification. It is true that stabilisation and nativisation, begun in German times, continued to be the most outstanding characteristics of the NGP spoken between the wars. Healey's comments (1975:37) that NGP in the thirties was used by fewer people but with greater proficiency than today, Mead's observations about the spread and stabilisation of NGP (Mead 1931) and numerous other sources support the view that the language remained fairly unchanged under the new political system. Yet, the sociolinguistic position of NGP was not only characterised by a stability resulting from the Australian administration's aloofness and a general desire for non-intimacy among the white population. A second factor, less powerful at the time, was the differentiation of NGP into more pronounced social and regional varieties. Among these, the emergence of Tok Masta deserves special attention. The development of a kind of Urban Pidgin, referred to at the time as Tok Skul,[1] had also begun, though it was still of minor importance.

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[1] (see opposite page).

3.2.5.2. New Opportunities for Employment

The plantations and associated migrant labour system remained the most important single factor in the spread and nativisation of NGP, though towards the end of this period more diversification in the employment of local people could be observed. The discovery of the Wau and Bulolo goldfields which became operative in 1926, the development of light industries and the reliance of the administration on local personnel for its lower echelons, are some of the factors involved. Thus, of the 36,927 contract labourers employed in 1936, 18,773 were employed on plantations, 6,816 in mines, 5,608 in commerce and industries, 3,677 as domestic servants, 1,210 in the administration and 843 in shipping. (Figures from Eckert 1938:125.)

More important than these figures and their breakdown is the proportion of male to female workers employed under the contract labour system. In contrast with the situation under the Germans, the proportion of women in the workforce under the Australian administration was negligible: 270 out of a total of almost 37,000 employed (figures from Eckert:ibid.). Recruiting of labour continued in the areas opened up by the Germans and recruiters were generally reluctant to extend their activities beyond five miles from the coast (personal communication: L.R. Healey), though a few did venture further afield.

However, there was a definite shift away from the traditional recruiting areas of New Ireland and the other islands of the Bismarck Archipelago to new areas in the Sepik, Madang and Morobe provinces. Whereas in 1906 barely 15% of the workforce had been recruited on the New Guinea mainland, more than 60% came from this area in 1936. The following map taken from Eckert (1938:122) gives an indication not only of the movement of people under the migrant labour system but also of the routes along which NGP was spread:

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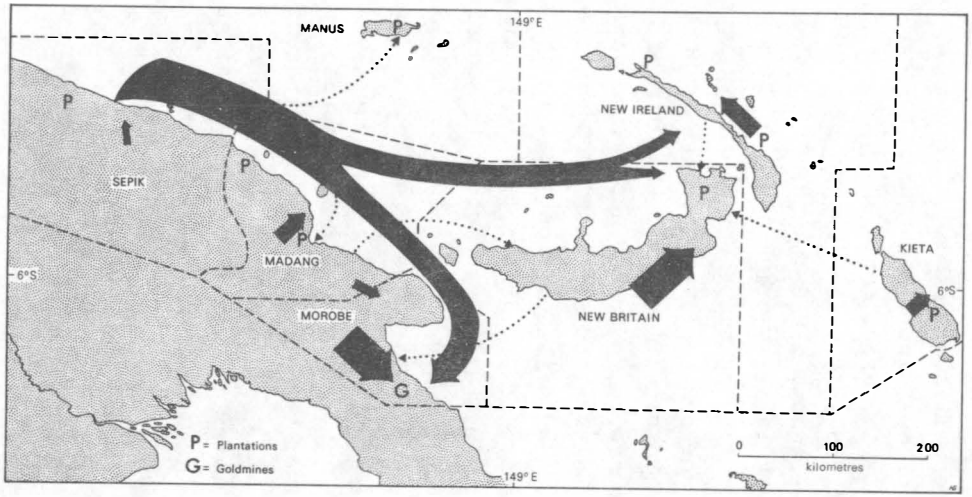
1 (from previous page)
Thus Brenninkmeyer (1924:1) remarked that "year by year this international lingua franca comes closer and closer to pure English" (author's translation). Schebesta and Meiser (1945:2) state that

> ... since Bisnis-English is a living language in the strictest sense of the word it is constantly changing owing to the influence of the white; vocabulary and grammatical structure are in a stage of transition from the original primitive lingo (commonly called tok boi) to more anglicised types (often called by the bois 'tok skul').

MOVEMENT OF INDENTURED LABOURERS IN 1936



The development of a plantation culture not as a temporary adjustment but as a new style of life can be traced back to the early days of German colonisation. The full impact of this new subculture, however, was only felt in the twenties and thirties. Fortunately, these developments are well documented in articles by Mead (1931:144-51 and 191), Reed (1943:267-91) and Bateson (1944:137-41). The following vivid description of this new contact culture, the culture of the wokboi, was given by Mead (1931:144):

> In the Mandated Territory of New Guinea a strange, widely flung culture is growing up, a new culture bred of the contact of the white man and the native, a culture that is breaking down barriers hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years old. Where before each small Melanesian community lived unto itself alone, acknowledging kinship possibly with a half-dozen other villages but political relationships with no group outside its narrow boundaries, a camaraderie is developing which extends up the Sepik far beyond Marienburg into the very heart of the New Guinea mainland, down into the old German Solomons, along the precipitous coasts of New Britain, into the Admiralties. It is a strange culture; almost all those affected by it are males between the ages of twelve and thirty; their homes are scattered far and wide, so that it is necessary to "go, go-go-go, two fellow Sunday (two weeks)" to reach the places from which they came, but they speak a common language, pidgin English, or "talk-boy", and their canons are homogeneous and simple. This is the culture of the work boy, the boy who has made, or is about to make, "paper" with the white man, as plantation hand, member of a boat's crew, house boy, child's nurse, wharf laborer or laborer in the gold fields.

Two outstanding features of the culture were the high regional mobility, 'boys' changing their masters and taking up work in another area after their contracts expired, and the growing prestige of NGP as the language giving access to these new modes of living. An interesting case study is that of the work-experience of Čavi, given by Hall (1943b: 61-77). Young boys were learning NGP from returned labourers in their home village in German times, but this new mode of transmission of the language only became universal in the twenties:

> Pidgin English, especially a knowledge of the names of the strange objects used by the white man, is the most important key to entrance into this world of adventure. In the back villages where a white man is seen perhaps twice a year, five and six-year old boys go about muttering long pidgin phrases to themselves, learning pronunciation and cadence before they understand the meaning of words. By the time they are well-grown "monkeys" of twelve and thirteen, they can converse easily in this new language, and even have time to school the smaller boys by the hour.
>
> (Mead 1931:147)

This change in the mode of transmission of NGP, particularly the age at which it was learnt, was important for the development of more stable and grammatically more complex varieties of NGP. If a pidgin is learnt by the bulk of its speakers at a relatively early age the likelihood of

its being structurally complex increases. The fact that NGP was usually acquired at a younger age than in German times would seem to be of more importance for its linguistic development than occasional instances of creolisation. Structural expansion, like creolisation, must involve large proportions of the community to be of significance for the development of a pidgin. It would be wrong to assume that any of the processes operative in the life cycle of a pidgin - stabilisation, expansion and creolisation - are individual phenomena. Unless such innovations are accepted by a large proportion of the speech community, they do not contribute to a pidgin's internal growth.

3.2.5.3. Other Factors in NGP's Expansion

The internal and external expansion of NGP in the interbellum years took place, by and large, among the local inhabitants of the Territory. The only sections of the expatriate community actively involved in promoting NGP were the Catholic missions and some of the patrol officers.

The various Catholic mission bodies began to adopt NGP as a mission lingua franca in the early 1920s, first to communicate among the plantation labourers, subsequently to facilitate mission work in linguistically complex areas. More details about the history of NGP and the Catholic missions can be found in articles by Mihalic (1969:29-31; 1977), Laufer (1961:214-5) and - the most comprehensive account to date - Höltker (1945:44-63), whilst some remarks on mission language policies will be found in the next sub-chapter. The importance of the Catholic missions for the spread, stabilisation and expansion of NGP lies in the following reasons:

a) The Catholic missions regarded NGP as a language in its own right, worthy of study and linguistic description. The result was a number of excellent dictionaries and grammars.

b) They were concerned actively with language standardisation in the fields of orthography, lexicon and grammar. One of their aims was to promote acceptable norms throughout the territory. The fact that the Catholic missions of Rabaul, Vunapope and Alexishafen had different ideas about standardisation, however, resulted in a number of regional differences, particularly in the field of doctrinal terminology, in their respective areas of influence.

c) They were operating in areas with limited government contacts and thus acted as agents for the regional spread of NGP.

An aspect of missionary NGP which has often been overlooked is that the standardisation and description carried out by Catholic missionaries tended to lag behind the linguistic developments in spoken NGP. The conservation of archaic forms led to the development of a sort of Church Pidgin, similar in function and linguistic properties to Church Creole in Surinam described by J. Voorhoeve (1971). Hall (1943b:84) has drawn attention to a number of syntactic and stylistic peculiarities in the speech of missionaries of German origin.

3.2.5.4. Factors Promoting Diversification and Instability in NGP

The stability of NGP was largely a function of the stable social system under the German and subsequent Australian colonial administration. In this society there was relatively little class differentiation on the part of the indigenous population. Another factor which may have slowed down the development of varieties of NGP intermediate between basilectal pidgin and English was the belief common among the local population, one which persists in outlying areas, that NGP was indeed the language of the white man (tok vaitiman); this belief[1] appears to have been universal until well into the 1930s, though Reed (1943:288) observed some significant changes:

> We now find, however, that the terms tok pijin and tok boi are part of the speech and stand in contrast to tok ples bilong waitman and tok ples bilong Sydney which designate true English. This distinction implies the general acceptance by natives of pidgin's subordinate position. More direct confirmation was given by a Kwoma informant who, laughing at his own naiveté, told how he had believed pidgin to be the white man's speech "true" before he had been recruited. But even before he had learned pidgin for himself, he had been disabused of the notion that the white masta had no other speech of their own.
>
> Natives are now aware, therefore, that the ability to speak pidgin does not put them on a footing of linguistic equality with Europeans; but, as yet, little open resentment of this fact has appeared.

Thus, stimuli for the linguistic differentiation of NGP had to come from outside sources rather than from within the indigenous NGP speaking

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[1] Brenninkmeyer (1924) refers to NGP as tok vaitiman, a term which was replaced by tok boi in the 1930s. That this phenomenon is widespread can be seen from Reinecke's observation (1937:100) that:

> Often in the beginning the speakers of a trade jargon are quite unaware that it is a jargon, and believe that they are speaking the other party's language correctly. (This is recorded for Beach-la-mar, West African Pidgin English, Chinese Pidgin English, Chinook Jargon, Eskimo Jargon, and Russenorsk.)

The belief that Pidgin English was identical to the white man's language has survived in Samoa among the speakers of SPP. In fact, one of the reasons why this pidgin escaped the attention of linguists in the past was that its speakers claimed to speak 'English'.

community. The main agents for these changes were the new Australian settlers and administrators who triggered off the development of a number of new varieties of NGP, marginal at the time.

The name 'Pidgin English' was seen by many speakers of English as evidence that NGP was just broken English and that for this reason it was unnecessary to make an effort to learn the language. It appears that for the majority of Australians in the years between the wars any broken English passed as NGP. In 1935, the *Rabaul Times* gives the following assessment of this sad state of affairs:

> Unfortunately, ever since the Australian occupation of New Guinea, the correct pidgin English has been steadily undergoing a process of mutilation and corruption, until at this present stage - after over twenty years of barbarous treatment - pidgin-English has become almost unrecognizable and in many instances is unintelligible to the native.
>
> (8 November 1935, editorial)

The phenomenon deplored by the *Rabaul Times* was the development of a sociolect of NGP generally referred to by New Guineans as Tok Masta. The social reasons for the development of this variety of NGP were the Europeans' desire for non-intimacy, their reluctance to overcome linguistic barriers, and their inability to recognise NGP as a linguistic system in its own right. The phenomenon of Tok Masta is by no means limited to New Guinea and can be found in many other places where a rigid colonial society insisted on class and race barriers. The result of the use of such corrupted English is, in the words of the *Rabaul Times*,

> ... an interchange of bastardized expressions; a sort of silly chop-suey English, bereft of procedure and devoid of limitations; only half understood by the native and at times misinterpreted with dire results to the native who, in all good faith, executes what he has understood to be an order, but finds to his discomfort that the "master" or the "Missus" had an entirely different object in mind. These misunderstood instructions are, at times, interpreted as disobedience by the person delivering the order and unjust punishment is meted out to the "boy", whose knowledge of mutilated English has not been sufficient to understand the instruction.
>
> (8 November 1935, editorial)

There are conflicting views about the extent of the use of broken English among Europeans. L.R. Healey (1975:37) claims that in pre-war times "the stock of Europeans was small and stable and most of them spoke Pidgin fluently and the few people who were continuously added to this stock learnt the language well because of their greater exposure to well spoken Pidgin than today's learners ...." This observation is in direct contrast with a number of articles appearing in the *Rabaul Times* between 1928 and 1937, e.g. Shelton-Smith (24 May 1929):

> 'Pidgin' is so much a language that there are only two white masters of it in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. That is, there are only two who speak it so fluently that if they were out of sight they would be mistaken for kanakas. The ordinary resident of the islands is far from being an expert. He learns enough to be able to give simple orders to natives and is content with that.[1]

Thus, Healey's views differ from the observations made by many at the time and one can assume that the average European's knowledge of NGP during the period between the Wars was very restricted. The influence of their broken Tok Masta on the nativised NGP spoken in the rural areas was slight. There are however indications that indigenes employed by Europeans were keen to adopt some of their differing usages.[2]

3.2.5.5. Development of Regional Varieties

The development of regional varieties in the years between the wars can be ascribed to two causes. The first, and perhaps less significant in the long run, was the emergence of differences in the structural expansion of NGP resulting from decreased geographical contacts. Thus, lexical borrowing from local languages in the old recruiting areas such as New Ireland and Manus resulted in some lexical differences. This tendency was reinforced by the lack of co-ordination in the mission use of NGP, with missionaries being prepared to use locally restricted terms for their purposes. However, these developments hardly affected the core of NGP lexicon and syntax. A second factor, a change in the mode of transmission of NGP, resulted in more tangible and lasting changes, i.e. differences between areas which had been under German control and others, particularly the Highlands, which were opened up by Australian government patrols.

Whereas transmission of NGP in the 'older' coastal areas was between New Guineans, its main function being to bring about communication across linguistic and tribal boundaries, a new mode of transmission became current in the recently penetrated Highlands. Here, the indigenous population learnt it from patrol officers and members of the administration, who more often than not were speakers of a heavily anglicised variety of NGP which could be labelled Kiap Pidgin.

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[1] Shelton-Smith, in the same article, remarks that it was widely believed that the language could be mastered in a fortnight, a belief found until very recently and which has led to remarks that NGP "is the world's easiest language to learn" (R.W. Robson 1965:195).

[2] Some examples of this attitude are mentioned by Reed (1943:280 and 283) and Mead (1931:148-9).

First contact with the Eastern Highlands was made in 1927 by the Lutheran Missionary Flierl and during the latter half of the thirties there was substantial spread of government influence throughout the district, Henganofi and Kainantu, and later Goroka, being the main centres of government influence. The influence of the administration was felt somewhat later in the Western Highlands Province, where Mount Hagen became operative as a government post in 1936. NGP was also carried into these areas in pre-war times by the missions and gold prospectors. In these years the foundations were laid for a new variety of NGP, which developed into an important regional dialect only after World War II.

3.2.5.6. Summary

The changes in society introduced by the German administration, above all the plantation economy and labour recruiting system, continued to provide stimuli for the geographical expansion of NGP. With colonial administration becoming more firmly established and with an awareness of the colonial system becoming common among the local population, NGP's main function further shifted from communication between black and white to that of intertribal communication.

Changes in the local society were slow, and the linguistic development of NGP could keep pace with them. Though the plantation labour culture emerged as a major sub-culture it did not drastically affect the life in the villages, and it appears that mission influences only very gradually changed the traditional ways of life. NGP thus served as a language which made it possible to take part in new experiences whilst leaving open the possibility of returning to the traditional way of life.

The reintroduction of English as a source language was of importance only in some areas. Tok Masta and Kiap Pidgin provided stimuli for sociolectal and geographical differentiation of the language, though the full impact of these varieties was only felt towards the very end of this period.

All in all, the period between the Wars was one of consolidation and gradual structural, geographical and functional expansion for NGP.

3.2.6. *THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR II*

3.2.6.1. General Setting

The period between the Wars was one of relatively slow development, old-fashioned colonial methods of administration and economic

exploitation and few initiatives to change the status quo. Australian New Guinea was a sleepy colonial backwater, far away from the events in Australia and the rest of the world. The events triggered off by the outbreak of the Second World War in New Guinea signalled a drastic change:

> For New Guinea itself the war was the most cataclysmic event in the country's whole history. Between December 1941 when the Japanese struck and August 1945 when they surrendered, changes occured or were set in motion which far exceeded in their effects the original coming of the white man (which had been local and gradual) or the result of any natural catastrophe of disease or volcanic activity. Hunger, hardship, captivity and violent death were the lot of many of the indigenous people, for whom war was an almost unrelieved disaster. Yet nearly all the changes which count today as 'progress' stem in some way from World War II and its after-effects.
>
> (Ryan 1969:21)

Though the events of the War may have had some direct influence on lexical expansion of NGP and its geographic spread, their main effect was to change the relationship between New Guineans and expatriates. The new policies introduced after the War signalled the end of a rigidly stratified colonial society and the beginning of both social and linguistic mobility in the direction of European ways.

3.2.6.2. New Roles for NGP

With the functions of NGP as a language of the plantations and mines temporarily suspended, its importance in New Guinean society by no means diminished; in fact its usefulness was now officially recognised. The powers involved in the struggle for New Guinea realised that effective control of the population was only possible if linguistic communication could be established. The status of NGP as the lingua franca in New Guinea and its wide potential in this regard, resulted in the first serious linguistic efforts (apart from those undertaken by German missionaries) to analyse the language. Whereas more than 25 years of Australian presence in New Guinea had not resulted in the appearance of a single handbook of NGP for the use of expatriates, suddenly there was feverish activity in this field. Of the Australian publications of NGP dictionaries, grammars and phrase books, those by Helton (1940) and Murphy (1943) deserve to be mentioned, though Helton's book in particular exhibits serious shortcomings.[1]

By far the most valuable contribution was that of Hall (1943b), an exhaustive structural description of NGP with a long wordlist. Phrase

[1] A further discussion can be found in an article by Laycock (1970d:108).

books and NGP instruction for American soldiers were based on Hall's work:

> One of the more obscure yet diverting by-products of global war is that the U.S. Army is teaching soldiers in the South Pacific to say Cut-im grass belong head belong me! for 'I want a haircut', Capsize-im coffee 'long cup for 'Pour the coffee', and He got sheepy-sheep? for 'Is there any lamb?'.
>
> (*Life* 1943:67, 7 June)

The Japanese also used NGP[1] to establish communication with New Guineans in newly conquered areas but it appears that a pidginised form of Japanese - still known to a number of men of the older generation - replaced NGP in those areas where they remained for a longer period. However, the vigorous presence of the Japanese language in some areas appears to have left no traces in NGP.

Among the changes in the status and functions of NGP at this time, perhaps the most important was its development into a language of solidarity between Australian and American soldiers and the local population.[2] This finds its linguistic expression in the use of the inclusive first person plural marker yumi to refer to whites and blacks alike (soldia bilong yumi i banisim ol Japan - pamphlet dropped by the Australian Army near Dagua, East Sepik Province), a significant change from the pre-war master-boy pattern. The Australians were dependent on the goodwill of the indigenes and identification with a common cause helped to break down barriers: "Australian troops working and fighting alongside village men treated them generally as equals, and broke down the strict pre-war caste system between black and white." (Ryan 1972: 22). This solidarity was aided by two other factors: the New Guineans' awareness of the limited powers of the whites in the face of Japanese aggression and the subsequent American invasion of New Guinea where negroes serving in the U.S. Army were seen to perform duties formerly associated with whites only.

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[1] Cf. Hall (1959:23): "Similarly, during the Japanese occupation, the invaders and temporary occupiers seem to have made use of Pidgin as their normal language of communication with the natives." Again, Lawrence (1964:107) remarks: "They obeyed the Japanese without volunteering to help them. They taught the soldiers Pidgin English, which was essential if there were to be any sort of administration."

[2] This change in attitudes is reflected in the following statement by Nelson (1972: 85-6):

> The war made New Guinea important for Australians and it changed their attitude to Niuginians. The term 'fuzzy-wuzzy' gained associations Australians had not previously attached to non-white people. Australians were in need and the fuzzy-wuzzies were found to be strong and loyal; they were fighting alongside 'our boys'.

The function of NGP as a means of expressing unity, not only among black New Guineans but also among all racial groups in the country working for a common aim, springs directly from these events; it is true that NGP continued to serve as a master-boy language after the War, but this function gradually declined in importance.

3.2.6.3. Social Control through NGP

Though NGP had been used before the War as an aid to building a colonial society, this function was an incidental one rather than the result of premeditated policies of social control. NGP's use as a medium for large-scale war propoganda, on the other hand, must be seen as a systematic application of the techniques of mass communication and control to the battle scene in New Guinea.

Millions of propaganda pamphlets were dropped by Australian,[1] American and Japanese[2] aeroplanes all over New Guinea, usually containing a message in NGP, the language most widely understood. Clark (1955:11-2) gives the following description of the use of such pamphlets by the American forces;

> One effective use of Pidgin by our intelligence force was in compiling warning pamphlets which were printed or mimeographed in that language, and which were dropped from planes over isolated islands in the Japanese-occupied zone. Scores of our fliers had been marooned on these islands by plane failures or by combat disablement. Crews of wrecked bombers would often drift for days on rubber rafts until prevailing ocean currents carried them within sight of such atolls.
>
> The purpose of the pamphlet-drops was to convince the natives that they must rescue and care for these men. The language had to be abrupt and forceful, as the islanders have a great respect for military strength and an equal contempt for weakness.
>
> The pamphlets stated that Japanese power was rapidly declining as American troops and planes poured in to reinforce the Australians and British. If the islanders rescued our castaways, fed them, and helped them to reach safety, they would be rewarded. If they helped the Japanese or gave them information regarding our movements, or if our castaways were abused or neglected, bombing planes would come to kill them and to destroy their villages.

From a military point of view this leaflet dropping campaign was a success and helped to communicate effectively with the native population of Japanese occupied areas. However, in order to achieve military success the allied forces had to resort to extravagant promises which strengthened hopes for a drastic transformation of the New Guinean scene after the War, hopes which could only be partly fulfilled. The

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[1] Examples of Australian pamphlets are preserved in the archives of the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

[2] Notes on the Japanese pamphlets as well as an example are found in Luke (1945:95-6).

printed word was considered to be the absolute truth and failure by the Australians after the War to fulfill their promises in the expected way led to some serious trouble. Some cargo movements could well have gained their impetus out of this situation.

3.2.6.4. The Spread of NGP During World War II

Apart from stimulating the use of NGP in a number of new contexts, such as in military propaganda (including the first broadcasts) and the armed forces, the events of the Second World War had the additional effect of increasing the number of its speakers and promoting its spread into areas until then not in contact with NGP.

To overcome the transport problem tens of thousands of males over the 'apparent' age of fourteen were conscripted by the Australian and American forces to serve as labourers and carriers and, at the peak time of war activities, their number was 55,000. Recruitment took place in both NGP speaking and remote areas: "Australians, Americans and Japanese learned Pidgin - and so did the wild-looking tribesmen recruited from remote mountain ridges and valleys" (Vader 1971:35). The renewed influx of NGP into Police-Motu speaking Papua is of particular note. Both Laycock (1969:10) and Nelson (1972:24) have commented on this, though it is not entirely clear how far-reaching the influence of NGP became in Papua at the time. It is equally difficult to estimate the increase in NGP speakers and its geographical spread during the period. However, there is an additional aspect which must be mentioned, namely the influence of such large-scale population movements on the structure of the language itself. The increased regional mobility during wartime is certain to have accelerated the convergence of regional variants of the language.

3.2.6.5. The Disruption of Institutionalised Modes of Transmission

The effect of the War on NGP, whilst promoting its spread and strengthening its position *vis-à-vis* the colonial administration, was disruptive from another viewpoint. Observers in post-war New Guinea agree that proficiency declined among certain groups, the most affected group being the young men who were unable to go to the plantations and were too young to work for the American or Australian forces. Thus Mead (1956:371) writes:

> These young men in their early twenties represent a particularly difficult problem because the war cut them off from both the continuing teaching they would have received from the Mission and from the ordinary sort of long-term work for the European in which their elders had been schooled.

> They were just reaching adolescence when the Japanese occupation started, and very few were old enough to do much work for the Americans. Their knowledge of Neo-Melanesian is inferior to that of the older men and they do not have the same sense of free communication with Europeans which their elders learned as work boys.

Mead's comments refer to Manus Island, but this decline in NGP proficiency appears to have been a nation-wide phenomenon. Similar observations in the Rabaul-Kokopo area were made by Orken (1954:863):

> I have been working in the immediate vicinity of Rabaul and Kokopo for over two years now and I am convinced that whatever was the situation pre-war, most of the children and women, and a considerable number of young males now have but a rudimentary knowledge of Pidgin and consequently use it very sparingly in their village life.

The reasons for this decline must be sought mainly in the disturbance of a number of stabilising factors. The most important change was the break in the established form of transmission of NGP with a second influence being the temporary disappearance of the missions, civil administration, and other agencies instrumental in its stabilisation and spread. Instead one finds a sudden influx of a large number of Australian and American soldiers with only a rudimentary knowledge of NGP. Though the decline affected a relatively small number of New Guineans, and though only temporary, it did create a vacuum in which new patterns of transmission and norms for NGP could become important.

3.2.7. *THE YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II*

3.2.7.1. General Setting

The social, economic and political developments in New Guinea after 1945 will be dealt with only briefly since many of them are not within the realm of the external history of NGP. More particularly, many events after 1953, the year of the U.N. pronouncement concerning NGP in the then Trust Territory of New Guinea, are having repercussions today and therefore belong to the discussion of attitudes, policies and social and regional variation in present-day NGP.

At the end of the War, Höltker (1945:62) speculated about the state of NGP in the war-torn country. Among the possibilities he considered was that NGP may have been replaced by a different lingua franca, or lingue franche, in various areas. However, disruptive as the War had been, it did little to stem the spread of NGP, though it did promote certain new developments in its growth and spread. Thus, the continuity of its development had been disturbed by a cessation in the established mode of its transmission and access to what can be termed 'classical NGP' of the twenties and thirties.[1]

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[1] This question has been discussed in detail by L.R. Healey (1975:36-42).

Compared with the stability of the pre-war period, the years immediately after the War were marked by a drastic acceleration of social change in Papua New Guinea. Thus, public expenditure was raised significantly to finance the progress demanded by the local people.

3.2.7.2. Changes in NGP's Social Environment

The changes found in the first years after the War fall into two classes: the discontinuation of factors influencing NGP and, more important, the introduction of new factors. The following deserve to be mentioned in more detail:

a) The gradual weakening of the master-boy relationship

The War had made New Guinea important to the Australians, promoting a change in their attitudes towards Papua New Guineans. As an expression of Australia's gratitude, the Labour Government in Canberra promised a new deal for Papua New Guinea. The Provisional Administration Bill of 1945 outlined the changes; conditions of indentured labour and recruiting methods were to be greatly improved and a vigorous educational programme and participation in government for New Guineans was announced.

These changes signalled the breakdown of the pre-war caste society. Though some of the long-term settlers were horrified that the old distinctions between white and black were to be wiped out, and though some of the pre-war attitudes remained, post-war developments were characterised by an Australian willingness to help New Guineans to run their own country. This atmosphere, in which upwards social mobility was no longer a privilege of the white colonisers but also within the reach of New Guineans, was bound to have linguistic effects. In pre-war times, it was not unusual to encounter the view that natives who spoke English should be punished, since it was the language of the masters and NGP that of the boys, hence the name tok-boi. Now English teaching was promoted and English-medium primary schools opened in many areas. Healey (1975:38) remarks that:

> Lots of young people as a result began to speak Primary English. There was also the removal of the 'Tok Boi' complex among expatriates wherein local people in New Guinea were discouraged from using English when speaking to expatriates. These factors tended to quicken the introduction of English and other words.

The fact that NGP's original lexifier language was again readily available as a source for linguistic growth had another effect, as noted by Hall (1955c:93), in that some groups sought to "avoid previously existant Neo-Melanesian words or expressions which they

consider to carry a connotation of inferiority ... and which they replace by the corresponding English terms."

The removal of the tok-boi 'complex' was gradual, affecting the urban areas and educated groups of the indigenous population first; in the more remote areas it is still an ongoing process. The resulting social diversification among the indigenous population meant that certain groups had free access to English and could change the character of NGP in its direction. The vigorous development of urban varieties of NGP can be said to have sprung from this.

b) The decline in importance of German missions

Missionaries from German speaking countries had been predominant in most areas of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. Their influence on NGP was to stabilise and preserve existing patterns, encouraging only very slow development. In particular, they were crucial in the preservation of many vocabulary items of German origin.

After World War II the bulk of new missionaries came from English speaking countries such as Australia and America. They used NGP, and the linguistic traditions established by the Catholic missions gradually disappeared, especially since much of the material to aid standardisation prepared in Alexishafen had been destroyed during the War. Moreover, the missionaries from English speaking countries often had insufficient guidance in their use of NGP. With these developments one of the strongholds of language maintenance of NGP had become significantly weakened.

c) The development of Highlands Pidgin

The development of the New Guinea Highlands was interrupted during the War years and real change only came after the War. The transition of Highlands culture from traditional to Western patterns was stimulated by the large number of Europeans settling in the area after the War and the development of important urban centres such as Goroka and Mount Hagen.

As noted earlier, the standard of Highlands Pidgin in the early years was relatively low and characterised by features borrowed from Tok Masta. The introduction of the Highlands Labour Scheme soon after the War, under which men were recruited for work in coastal areas, mainly on plantations, provided an opportunity for Highlanders to make contact with the coast and see European-style towns. The Labour Scheme was also the major force in the spread of NGP through the Highlands. Here the pattern of people from marginal areas learning NGP on the plantations was repeated, though the large number of labourers involved

and the relatively short period of labour contracts created slightly less favourable conditions for the acquisition of a stable standard plantation NGP, and Healey (1975:38) remarks that:

> ... resulting from ... the release for coastal employment of thousands of Highlanders from Highland districts who couldn't speak Pidgin into urban and plantation situations the pool of non-speakers eventually exceeded the numbers of fluent Pidgin speakers and learning by newcomers deteriorated in quality.

However, more stable varieties of Highlands Pidgin gradually developed locally as a result of increased communication across tribal and linguistic boundaries in the Highlands. The norms for this variety differ from those of Rural Pidgin in a number of ways and Wurm (1971a) has described it in a separate monograph.

d) The development of urban centres

Before the War no towns of any significance were found in New Guinea and even centres such as Port Moresby numbered less than 1,500 inhabitants of all races. However, after 1945 there was a rapid increase in the number of whites from Australia, and urban centres such as Madang, Wewak, Lae and Rabaul gained in significance.[1] Goroka and Mount Hagen in the Highlands were other growth centres with many Europeans. Though still relatively unimportant in comparison with the rural areas, urban centres did provide alternative settings for rural people to come in contact with European ideas. The town rather than the plantation was the locality where prestigious jobs could be found; such jobs were open particularly to those members of the younger generation who had some formal education in English.

Thus, the towns provided work and new stimuli for an increasing number of young men who preferred this to the traditional indenture on the plantations, generating a new class of urban dwellers whose household language was NGP and whose children typically spoke it as their first language. Though creolisation in the urban situation was still of minor importance in the years directly after the War, the foundations were laid for a development whose full impact on the growth of NGP can hardly be overestimated.

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[1] Nelson (1972:172) gives the following brief summary of urban development in Papua New Guinea:

> At the census in 1966 there were 42,000 people in Port Moresby and 16,000 in Lae. By 1970 there were 56,000 in Port Moresby and 24,000 in Lae. At Rabaul, Madang, Wewak, Goroka and Mt Hagen, there were smaller urban centres. By the end of the century there will be urban areas of over 250,000 people in Papua New Guinea.

e) The development of new media

NGP in pre-war times was almost exclusively a language for oral communication. The importance of written NGP had become evident during the Second World War and it continued to gain importance afterwards. Apart from an increased output of mission publications, a number of NGP newspapers began to appear, all of them set up with the purpose of promoting the political and social advancement of New Guineans.

The Australian post-war administration was faced with the dilemma of choosing between effective communication with the largest possible number of people or promotion of the territory-wide use of English. It appeared that the spread of English as a lingua franca was a long term project and, though desirable, it was unrealistic to promote English too quickly. Instead, NGP was used far more widely in communication between government and people, and became common in modern news media such as newspapers and broadcasting:

> They (i.e. the Australian administrators of New Guinea) have established at least five Pidgin newspapers for circulation among the natives, they are using the radio station at Port Moresby for regular broadcasts in Pidgin, and they are instructing native children in the use of Pidgin in schools. In short, they are popularizing the linguistic medium against which they are theoretically opposed.
>
> (Baker 1953:194)

The role of NGP publications in the years after the War is significant in a number of ways. Baker discusses it as follows (1953:195):

> Until the "South Pacific Post" began publication in Port Moresby on 26th September, 1950, the only post-war newspapers in New Guinea were published exclusively in Pidgin - the "Rabaul News" at Rabaul, the "Lae Garamut" at Lae ..., the "Wewak News" at Wewak (publication suspended), the "Lagasai" at Kavieng, and the "Buka News" at Buka. The oldest of these Pidgin newspapers is apparently the "Rabaul News", which was set up just after the war, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Frank Boisen, the District Education Officer in that area, who sought to improve the educational facilities available to the Kuanua people of New Britain. The responsibility of collecting most of the news and coping with publication was later taken over by Mr. Waiau Ahnon, a half-caste man of a New Ireland native mother and a Chinese father. At the beginning of 1950, about 950 copies of the paper were being brought out each Friday night - on a Gestetner. The reading public of these 950 copies was estimated at "at least eighty thousand". An Administration officer told me, "I myself have seen natives in outlying districts gathering in hundreds to hear one man reading from a single copy".

The NGP newspapers mentioned not only served as news media but were also regarded by the government as a way of bringing NGP closer to English in its vocabulary and structure. By that time it was widely believed that, because of their lexical similarities, NGP was a definite aid in the learning of English, as reflected in the following

quotation: "Therefore we choose it as our bridge to English not, however, implying in any way that we thereby perpetuate it indefinitely." (Mihalic 1957:vii). The result was that NGP became the object of large-scale direct intereference, mainly in its lexical structures. On the whole, however, these changes did not succeed in bringing New Guineans closer to European modes of thinking and the English language. No one realised at the time that mixing of NGP and English may give rise to a new system which is no more intelligible to the average speaker of English than the established variety of NGP.

The influence of these new media is difficult to assess. Though most NGP speakers remained unaffected by the linguistic changes which they proposed, their anglicised form of NGP enjoyed prestige among educated urban groups, thereby reinforcing the development of Urban Pidgin as a sociolect distinct from Rural Pidgin. Yet, these publications, riddled with inconsistencies of spelling and vocabulary, failed to solve the urgent problem of standardisation of Rural Pidgin or to establish communication with the majority of its speakers. Perhaps more important than the direct linguistic changes brought about by the use of NGP by the media was that it became firmly established as a medium for the promotion of democracy in Papua New Guinea. Its role as a means of social control had been weakened and indigenous opinions could become more widely heard.

3.2.8. *BRIEF OVERVIEW OF NGP'S EXTERNAL HISTORY*

The history of NGP illustrates the various phases which constitute the life cycle of a pidgin language. NGP is one of the few languages whose full life cycle, ranging from a rudimentary jargon to a fully-fledged creole, is accessible to the linguist and observations made about its external history may prove to be of considerable importance to the theory of pidgin and creole languages. However, the principal aim was to present an observationally adequate account of its socio-historical setting rather than a theory about it.

NGP began as a contact jargon between visiting Europeans and the inhabitants of various Pacific Islands, became stabilised on plantations set up by the colonial powers and subsequently expanded its functions such that today it serves as a means of self-expression in at least some contexts for most of its speakers.

Though the presence of the colonial powers provided the stimulus for NGP and its geographical spread, the most important factor in its subsequent expansion was the complex linguistic situation in Papua New Guinea. With more than 700 languages spoken in the area and with no

traditional languages having more than regional importance, NGP fulfilled the need for country-wide communication, expanding as it was required to discuss an ever increasing range of topics, thus leading to the linguistic expansion of the language.

3.3. THE HISTORY OF POLICIES AND ATTITUDES

3.3.1. *INTRODUCTION*

Though a strict separation between the events described in this and the previous subchapter cannot be made in all instances, the author feels that such a distinction is nevertheless useful, especially since the relation between policies and attitudes towards NGP and its development appears to be less direct than that between development and certain other external conditions. With regard to official language policies, for instance, NGP developed and spread in spite of rather than because of them. Thus, policies and attitudes have tended to reflect the status quo rather than herald change.

Though many scattered observations about language policies and attitudes can be found in the literature of NGP, no complete account is yet available. The policies of the various mission bodies have been relatively well covered by Höltker (1945:44-63), Mihalic (1969:29-31; 1977), Neuendorf (1977) and Renck (1977). Both Capell (1969:107-15) and Hall (1959:22-7) have dealt with official policies, though many questions remain unanswered. The author himself has written an account of policies and attitudes in German times (Mühlhäusler 1975d:94-111) and a number of others have provided some information about the topic. Unfortunately, most accounts of attitudes towards NGP scarcely consider those of the majority of NGP speakers, the local people themselves, despite the fact that these must be known in order to see the functional and linguistic growth of NGP in proper perspective. In dealing with the history of policies and attitudes the divergent forces in operation will be discussed separately, these being the colonial administration, the home lobby, the white expatriate community, the missions and the local population. The life cycle model of NGP, distinguishing various significant stages in its development, will again serve as a framework for the discussion.

3.3.2. *THE YEARS BEFORE 1860*

Very little is known about policies and attitudes during this period but, whatever they may have been, it is unlikely that they were of immediate relevance to NGP. The period was pre-colonial, certainly in

the area around New Guinea and, even if there had been a colonial administration, the lack of power and resources would have made effective language policies highly unlikely.

A number of missions were operating in the area in which Jargon English was spoken. Their policy was to teach the islanders their own language, usually French or English.[1] The teaching of English became firmly established in some areas of the Pacific, such as Hawaii:

> Soon after the first group of New English missionaries arrived in the Islands in 1820, they began, as a regular part of their work, to teach English to the Hawaiians. Encouraged by members of the royal family, who were themselves the first eager pupils, the learning of English acquired great prestige, and, as Kuykendall noted, by the end of 1821 about two hundred Hawaiian people had received instruction (1938:106). Although for several decades major efforts in education were directed toward making the people literate in their own language, the desire to learn English remained and increased. By the middle of the century, nearly all the native people were able to read and write in Hawaiian (Kuykendall 1938:344 fn), and they could therefore learn a second language with greater facility. Kuykendall further recorded: "During the later 1840's and early 1850's, the craze among the Hawaiians for learning English led to the establishment of a number of small schools ... whose sole or principal object was to teach the English language to natives" (1938:365). By the end of 1854, ten English-language schools were in operation, among them the famous Royal School for the education of the children of the higher chiefs (1938:113, 361-362).
>
> (Carr 1972:4)

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[1] This policy has been commented upon by a number of writers including Thomas (1886: 167):

> Mr. Jones is now in fact the ruling spirit of Maré. The Marist priests have taught French in the schools, the natives mostly speak French, but the *"man-a-wee-wee"* is hated there, as throughout the Pacific. Mr. Jones has taught English in his schools, as a set-off against the French. To my missionary friends in the New Hebrides and Papua I point this out as an example they should follow. As the Marist Fathers always teach their converts French, and Mr. Jones in self-defence has had to teach his English, so the Papuan and the New Hebridean could be taught, if the missionaries put their minds to it. Very good English do Mr. Jones's pupils speak, and they are very nice-spoken and very polite to Englishmen.

Similar observations were also made by Oertzen (1885:346) with reference to the situation in the German South Seas:

> Church, school and language also form themselves according to the nationality of the first missionaries who up till now have always been the English in the South Seas, whilst nothing has been done in this respect on the German side. On the Duke of York Islands are two English Wesleyan missionaries and in the area of Matupi live French Jesuits ... and in addition a dozen or more teachers from Tonga and Fiji (all Wesleyans).
>
> (author's translation)

Formal English teaching was much less prominent in other areas. A brief survey of the English language in the Pacific is given by Laycock (1971:877-902). It is not known how far the formal teaching of English by various missions influenced the jargonised varieties of English in the Pacific, though one can speculate that the various English-speaking pockets in the Pacific provided a target for the speakers of Jargon English. Remarks by travellers at the time suggest that, whatever form of English was produced by the islanders, it was measured by the norms of standard English.

The attitudes of the white sailors and traders with regard to language were quite different from those of the missions. Their purpose was to establish a limited means of verbal communication at all cost. To achieve this aim they followed what Churchill (1911:11) has called the "supreme axiom of international philology: that the proper way to make a foreigner understand what you would say is to use broken English. He speaks it himself, therefore give him what he uses." Thus, they felt there was no need to teach proper English; it was commonly believed that the 'savages' inhabiting the various islands were incapable of grasping the subtleties of this language anyway. The form of speech used by individual visitors in their dealings with the islanders depended on their intuitions about language simplification, their previous exposure to more stable varieties of Pidgin English and their communicative needs. Pragmatic considerations overruled all others.

Little is known about the attitudes of the native population towards the various English jargons. Being able to communicate with visiting whites appears to have carried some prestige and various writers remark on islanders boasting of their scanty knowledge of Jargon English.[1]

3.3.3. *THE PERIOD OF EARLY STABILISATION (1860-1880)*

The writer will restrict this discussion to some observations about the Samoan variety of Pidgin English and the stable forms of NGP found in the Duke of York area towards the end of this period.

English was formally taught to a small number of Samoans by the missions, a fact of little consequence at the time and which only occasionally led to negative remarks by German writers who wanted

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[1] An example is the anecdotal report by Hernsheim (1883:50) about a man on Strong Island in the Carolines Group: "Just as a child loves to recite his newly learnt lesson he told us: "O me know plenty, me know 'Merika, me know Jesus Christ, me know million! Before no know nothing, now missionary this place, me know - all!"." (author's translation)

their own language taught instead. However, the German traders and planters were not concerned with nationalistic language policies and were quite happy to use Pidgin English on the plantations and on their trading and recruiting voyages. Jung (1885:298), in attacking the use of a variety of English by German nationals, is one of the earliest advocates of a language policy designed to make German the lingua franca of large parts of the Pacific. Further remarks on German language in the Pacific are made by Laycock (1971:878-9).

With regard to the area that was later German New Guinea, it is known that the presence of English missionaries, such as the Rev. Brown in the Duke of York Islands, led to the formal instruction in English of a very small number of local inhabitants. However, by the time the Germans took over, English was not a well established language in any area of their new colony. A relatively stable form of Pidgin English, on the other hand, had become institutionalised by the German traders and recruiters in the area. In fact, so well established was it that when the German Empire declared its protectorate over German New Guinea in 1884, a proclamation in this pidgin was read on Mioko Island to the assembled chiefs of the Duke of York Archipelago ..., culminating in the threat: "Bye and bye you kill white man, man of war kill you." (Finsch 1888:140).

3.3.4. *POLICIES AND ATTITUDES 1880-1914*

3.3.4.1. Introduction

When Germany took possession of the colony of German New Guinea in 1884 she was a newcomer to the colonial scene and relatively inexperienced.[1] Opinion about many aspects of colonial administration, particularly language policies, was divided. This division was reinforced by the presence of a number of interest groups, such as the settlers and colonial home lobby, who did not always agree with official government policy. In this atmosphere no consistent language policy

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[1] The lack of experience in matters of language policies was described by Baker (1943: 12) in rather unflattering terms:

> When at the tail-end of the last century, a land-hungry German set herself to fashion Pacific colonies in the likeness of the Reich, her ambition was tinged with the sturdy idealism that can flower only when ignorant of the task ahead. For it was the German ambition to teach the natives the German language and to spread other blessings of German culture among the antipodean innocents. There was, however, one major obstacle to these plans. The English had been in the Pacific much longer than the Germans and had been responsible for the propagation of an imbecile nursery talk which no German idealist could root out. This was pidgin English or beach-la-mar.

emerged until fairly late in the German era. Instead, the *ad hoc* solutions initiated by the New Guinea Company and other private groups remained dominant. The lack of both a policy and the funds to implement it led to the adoption of NGP as the most obvious solution to the urgent problem of communication.

3.3.4.2. Non-official European Attitudes

This section is concerned with the attitudes of factions such as the colonial home-lobby, visitors to the colony and the white settlers, as well as the private opinions of government officials. Since the latter two groups were directly involved in the day-to-day implementation of language policies, the success or failure of official policies depended directly on them.

The opinions of the colonial home-lobby coincided with and certainly influenced the later official policy of promoting the use of German as a colonial lingua franca whilst discouraging all other languages spoken in the colonies. However, the attitudes of the colonial home-lobby, as represented in publications such as the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (henceforth *DKZ*), were derived from patriotic ideals rather than a realistic assessment of the actual colonial language situation, in particular in New Guinea.

The function of language in the colonies as seen by this group was primarily to secure and perpetuate political control. It was generally assumed that, for effective control, it was necessary to enforce the use of the language spoken in the mother country. In German New Guinea this problem was seen as a particularly urgent one since the widespread use of English, particularly in a pidginised form, in the colony was regarded as a direct threat to German control. If English was spoken in a German colony, it was argued, it was only a question of time before an English administration would follow the English language:

> ... the spread of Pidgin English politically involves great dangers, especially if in addition English is preponderant in communication among the whites as, for example, in German New Guinea but especially in the Bismarck Archipelago. Isn't it risky to raise English to the status of lingua franca there with Australia in the vicinity, looking greedily towards this German colony?
>
> (*DKZ* 1913:vol.30/21:344; author's translation)

The same argument, albeit in even more flowery language, is found in the *Samoanische Zeitung* of 12 October 1912:

> Our South Sea neighbours, the Australians, laugh about the fact that English is spoken everywhere in German New Guinea. Justifiably! Others there cannot accept it and wax purple over the fact that Germany has

> assumed control over that territory. But this it appears is certainly not justified! Or what cleverly calculating Englishman would merrily laugh up his sleeve at how the upright German actively supports John Bull's trade and politics with so much enthusiasm, tenacity and selflessness by his unrelenting care of the English language! He who observes the growth and uncontrollable spread of the above mentioned scourge without prejudice and with open eyes almost has the insight forced upon him that, if absolutely all Germans in our South Seas were employed by the English, they could not play into the hands of the English traders more effectively and thoroughly than they have done until now and continue to do by supporting the English language.
>
> (author's translation)

The second perceived function of language in Germany's colonies was that of promoting cultural dominance. The colonial home-lobby argued that political control and economic exploitation should be accompanied by the dominance of German culture; since the German way of life and the German language were superior to those of the colonised territories, it was the responsibility of Germany to give a share of its cultural and linguistic achievements to the less privileged colonised peoples. For German New Guinea this meant that the indigenes should receive at least a basic education in the German language and culture, the final aim being not to make them equal to Germans, but to create a population of servants functioning smoothly at the bottom of German colonial society.

The opinion of the home-lobby was shared by visitors to the colony, who were generally shocked at the lack of German culture and language found there. Thus, Mrs Krämer-Bannow concludes her book about her wanderings among the artistic cannibals of New Britain with the "personal wish that German be declared the lingua franca of all our colonies instead of Pidgin English." (1916:243; author's translation). Similarly, the famous Baron von Hesse-Wartegg[1] (a writer of travel

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[1]Reference to the Baron von Hesse-Wartegg was first made by Churchill (1911:30-1):

> From German land hunger, from the Iron Chancellor's dream of a colonial empire, the Beach-la-mar derives but the solitary specimen of *rauss*, the mutilated fragment of *heraus*. This, it appears, is a matter most grave. It must be in some sort Majestätsbeleidigung. It is the rift within Weltpolitik's sweet-sounding lute. Mere English is a weak vehicle; we must have the sonorous cadences in which Baron von Hesse-Wartegg deplores the enormity and raises the Valkyr *"hoyotoho!"* which shall call all Germany to repair to the breach and ward off the danger ere it be too late. The ten-year period which he set has already passed; Fatherland must have been far too ruhig; still the savage under the palms both rausses and is raussed.

Churchill was followed by a number of other writers who quoted the colourful words of the 'famous' Baron. Thus, Reinecke (1937:744) wrote:

> The Germans especially disliked being obliged to use English, and that of the most barbarous sort, in administering one of their colonies. Von Hesse-Wartegg in particular expressed his disgust at the indignity of using this "unsinnig Kauderwelsch." "Whoever has once heard it will wish with all his heart that this nonsense were replaced out of hand with sensible German." (cont'd opposite)

books and not, as is stated in virtually all accounts of German language policies in New Guinea, a government official or administrator) argues that "anyone who has ever heard these [grotesque expressions], will cherish the hope that this nonsense be replaced with German as soon as possible." (1902:53; author's translation).

However, these were the idealistic wishes of those not involved in the hard realities of everyday life in the colony. For the German settlers and lower ranking officials more immediate pragmatic considerations overruled the well-meant proposals of outsiders. A multitude of languages were spoken in the areas already under control and the optimistic view that a better knowledge of the linguistic situation would demonstrate these to be dialects of only a few languages[1] was not shared by many resident outside the capital. Thus, as far as German business interests were concerned, communication had to be brought about both effectively and cheaply. Its main aim was to ensure that the orders given by white overseers to black labourers were executed satisfactorily. Since labourers were employed for only a limited period there was no real motivation to develop a complicated system of linguistic communication and NGP, already successfully employed on the German plantations in Samoa and on German trading stations in the Duke of Yorks, the Blanche Bay area and New Ireland, was maintained because of its convenience. Thus, arguing from the pragmatic point of view, Friederici (1911:95) rejects a proposal to introduce Tolai as the plantation language:

(footnote 1 cont'd from previous page)

Distortions later occurred in a number of places, first in an account by Hall (1959: 22) who refers to von Hesse-Wartegg as "a German colonial administrator", then by Baker (1966:327) who translates *Jahrzehnt 'decade'* as *'century'*, and finally in Laycock (1970d:107) who restates both Baker's mistranslation and Hall's assumption about the Baron's position by referring to him as one of the two "main voices of opposition" against NGP. Finally, Bauer (1975:28) refers to the Baron as "ein hoher deutscher Kolonialbeamter", i.e. 'a high-ranking German colonial official'.

The fact is that von Hesse-Wartegg never was a German colonial administrator, but a writer of popular travel books who paid a brief visit to German New Guinea around 1900. Since he was born in Austria and died in Switzerland it is not even likely that he was a German citizen. Von Hesse Wartegg's opinion reflects an attitude which was common at the time, but which was not necessarily the official one (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975d:103).

[1] This view is expressed for instance, by Blum (1900:166):

> More detailed research will doubtlessly show that the oft cited multitude of languages in New Guinea is in essence only a profusion of dialects and one of several of them will gain the upperhand depending on centres of communication or main recruiting areas.
>
> (author's translation)

> Now how are white and black to learn the Tolai language? One can certainly not expect the planter, toiling for his bread, and his workers, labouring by the sweat of their brow, to go to school after a full day's work. Even in the mission plantations no one mentions school for the hundreds of plantation workers. The worker labours by day for his master and profits for him; his work done he eats, sleeps, attends a singsing or makes love. Even the loafer and time killer in his home village is good for at most a quarter of an hour's mental work; so what can one expect of the harrassed worker! School is out of the question. On the other hand, in order to spread the desired Tolai or any other language in the same way as Pidgin English spreads of its own accord, namely through daily communication between the black boys in the sole language understandable to all, Tolai leaders are lacking and Pidgin English is already too much on everyone's lips.
>
> (author's translation)

The use of NGP was seen purely as a means to an end and, if other means were more suitable, they were adopted instead. Thus, before 1900, NGP was in general use on German plantations in the Bismarck Archipelago, whereas on the New Guinea mainland Coastal Malay was used because the majority of the coloured employees knew Malay. These pragmatic considerations were reinforced by certain others, mainly the desire of settlers and planters to maintain social distance between themselves and the 'blacks'. Thus, among this group, it was widely accepted that a knowledge of German by the New Guineans was undesirable since it would enable them to understand conversations which they were not supposed to overhear. Friederici (1911:97) is one of the many writers who discuss this alleged

> ... inconvenience of not having a language at the disposal of the master race once German had become generally known, a language in which one could not be understood or overheard by unauthorised natives. Presumably the government only partially supports this opinion with which many officials and certainly a large proportion of the settlers would, however, agree.
>
> (author's translation)

It would happen on occasions that natives who used German without being encouraged or authorised would be punished by their masters. However, according to Walther (1911:99): "that the German who is addressed by a coloured person in German, retaliates with a box to the ears is an exceptional occurrence and an exaggeration of a feeling of superiority." (author's translation). The *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* repeatedly urged the settlers to give up their elitist attitude towards the German language arguing that it was not only un-German but also a dangerous illusion:

> It is made out to be impossible to allow the worker or servant to speak the language of the employer or master since one could then not at any time discuss undisturbed things which the worker or servant should not hear. As regards German interests this view must be called short-sighted.

> But in addition it would seen to be dangerous in that even the most fervent effort to reserve German for private conversations and to exclude it from communication in public could not prevent the native workers and servants from themselves paying the greatest attention to the acquisition of their master's language and, when they could, seeking to eavesdrop. Apart from the fact that some of them have even learnt to master the German language completely, most of them understand a bit of German, which suffices to understand perfectly well what is spoken in their presence with the intention that it should not be understood. Therefore this objection is invalid.
>
> (*DKZ* 1903:20/45:455; author's translation)

In spite of such repeated attacks on the settlers' attitude the number of them who tried to teach German to their servants or their employees must have been very small. The few reported cases show that this approach to the language problem was perfectly feasible since they achieved communication in simple German. However, in view of the psychological barriers created by the German settlers, the spread of German as a lingua franca was impossible.

Economic considerations and the desire to maintain non-intimacy were supplemented by another factor, which has drawn little attention so far. This third factor can be described as the effect of the white settlers' desire for group identity upon their linguistic habits. The use of a foreign language, in this case NGP or English, and the interlarding of German with expressions from these languages, is documented for all German colonies, and this 'contaminated' German served as the group language of the settlers, stressing their special status in German society. The reasons for this may be sought both in the feeling that a foreign expression was more appropriate in a foreign environment and in the belief that the use of foreign expressions or even a foreign language such as NGP enhanced the speakers' prestige. This attitude was ridiculed by the *Samoanische Zeitung*, organ of the settlers in the neighbouring colony, in the following words:

> The present governor has made efforts on various occasions to urgently recommend to the German settlers the use of the German language for communication and intercourse with the natives. All in vain! For that one would have to misjudge the refined character of the Germans. 'Store' sounds incomparably better than 'Lager'. And he who has grasped the meaning of that sonorous sound 'beach' will no longer be so narrow-minded as to ever again speak of 'Strand' or 'Gestade'. In a group of four or five Germans who all have a more or less poor command of English, it only needs a single Englishman to appear and they all feel obliged to immediately continue the conversation in English. Noblesse oblige!
>
> (12 October 1912: author's translation)

The continued fight of the German home-lobby against this phenomenon did little to change the situation. The use of NGP received such support from the settlers, in opposition to the wishes of German

nationalists and the German administration, that legislation against the use of NGP put forward by the Governor Dr Hahl in 1903 was rejected by the settlers and planters:

> The joint efforts of the government and the missions to replace Pidgin English with the language of the coastal inhabitants unfortunately failed. A gathering called together specifically for this purpose rejected this suggestion with a majority and voted for the maintenance of the latter [presumably this should read the former P.M.] .... Since the main difficulty, the opposition of the settlers, cannot be overcome, Pidgin English will probably remain the lingua franca, but this will certainly not promote German ways.
>
> (Kleintitschen 1906:179; author's translation)

This disagreement about language policies is yet another facet of what has been referred to by Lawrence (1964:57) as "the struggle between official and settler attitudes" in New Guinea.

3.3.4.3. Government Language Policies

Most of the currently available accounts of German language policies in New Guinea contain a number of serious misconceptions, some of which have been pointed out by the present author (Mühlhäusler 1975d). The view commonly held is that proposed by Hall (1959:22): "At the outset, the new German colonial administration announced its opposition to Pidgin English, and its intention to uproot it." However, realising subsequently that this attempt did not meet with the expected success, "the German administration followed the philosophy expressed in the old proverb 'If you can't lick 'em, join 'em'; finding that they couldn't do away with Pidgin, they made its use official." (Hall 1955:36). Hall's accounts of German language policies, though cited in a number of publications of repute, have little evidence to support them. In fact, it appears that his view reverses the real sequence of events.

When Germany first established control over the Bismarck Archipelago and Kaiser Wilhelmsland, little was known about the linguistic situation of the new colony. The general opinion at the time was that a greater knowledge of the languages spoken there would lead to the best solution of the communication problem. It was hoped that the reports of linguistic diversity given by various observers would prove to be exaggerated and that a closer examination of the local languages would show that one was dealing with dialects of only a few languages. Thus, it was argued that the main language could be used as the basis of a Pidgin Papuan (Vulgär-Papuanisch), a proposal put forward by Zöller (1891:416ff).

However, it appears that the New Guinea Company was not seriously concerned with questions of language policy, its main preoccupation being to economically consolidate the colony. Those in charge in the areas controlled by the company adopted a *laissez faire* attitude, thereby encouraging the spread of NGP in the Bismarck Archipelago and Coastal Malay[1] on the New Guinea mainland. Apparently no efforts were made to spread the German language in the first years of German control. Hollrung (1888:340) commented:

> Attempts to teach the natives the German language have as yet been made neither by the missions nor by the station officials. On the other hand, so-called Pidgin English is widespread among the kanakas of the Gazelle Peninsula.
>
> (author's translation)

Friederici's attack on the New Guinea Company (1911:94), on account of its failure to implement truly German language policies, sums up the official attitudes (or their absence) towards language:

> When the New Guinea Company assumed sovereignty it encountered Pidgin English and, as the representative of the German Empire, faced a task which, at the time, would probably not have been difficult to solve in the national interest. Yet nothing, or virtually nothing, happened in this respect.[2]
>
> (author's translation)

In contrast, the years between 1900 and 1914 were characterised by the attempts of the German colonial government, and in particular the governor Dr Hahl, to eradicate NGP and replace it with German. The administration recognised that the replacement of NGP with German would be a very gradual process. The implementation of such a policy had to rely on two factors, first the gradual relexification of Pidgin English with lexical items of German origin and its eventual replacement by Pidgin German and second, formal schooling of large numbers of New Guineans in German.

The idea of promoting Pidgin German was proposed by groups outside the government and among its proponents one finds von Hesse-Wartegg, Friederici and the *Kolonialzeitung*. Von Hesse-Wartegg (1902:54) regarded Pidgin German as a bridge to proper German, which, he hoped, would eventually take over once the school system was fully developed:

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[1] More detailed remarks about proposals to introduce Coastal Malay as the lingua franca of the German colony are given by Zöller (1891:416ff), Neuhauss (1911:122) and Friederici (1911:94).

[2] This attack must be interpreted against the background of the language situation on the New Guinea mainland where the Company had its main field of activities in these early years. At the time NGP was virtually unknown in this area (cf. Zöller 1891: 413) and was brought there only through the labour recruitment by the Company.

> May the Germans in the South Seas bring recognition for their German mother tongue and contribute to its spread by availing themselves of the German language in their communication with the natives if feasible, first by introducing only single names then additional ones gradually, even if it should be but a kind of Pidgin German, until the next generation has emerged from the German native schools. Then the difficult beginning is overcome and a large area of the South Seas will use the German language increasingly as the lingua franca.
>
> (author's translation)

The question of Pidgin German in New Guinea has been dealt with in more detail by the present author (Mühlhäusler 1975c). It appears that the various appeals to use German resulted in a gradual increase of German words in NGP as well as the development of certain varieties of simplified or Pidgin German in some of the centres of administration. However, it is not clear to what extent this was the result of direct government intervention.

As regards the introduction of German by means of education, little progress was made in establishing state schools, their total enrolment in 1912 being about 500 compared with more than 22,000 students enrolled in mission schools. This state of affairs was felt to be quite unsatisfactory since:

> ... from the very structure of mission organisation it follows that the guiding thoughts for the nation's schooling cannot be formed from unitary plans. The diversity of mission staff with regard to nationality and denomination increases this existing lack of uniformity. For the teaching to be effective it must be based on a uniform rationale.
>
> (Governor Hahl in a circular of 2 December 1913; author's translation)

An education ordinance intended to restructure and vastly expand existing teaching facilities, in particular those for teaching German, was to become law in January 1915. One of the central aims of this new ordinance was to eradicate NGP; this was outlined by Hahl in the above mentioned circular:

> Education is important to us for another reason which we must assert in the schools and institutions, namely to bring our language to dominance among the natives in place of Pidgin English. The successful introduction of our language in our dealings with the people also means the predominance of our way of life as far as it can be adopted by the natives. Without German in our dealings with the native, on the other hand, we will have to forget about his conversion to our point of view and ways of thinking in all areas of life .... According to my proposals therefore, teaching should be based upon the living conditions of the native but also open up an understanding of our culture. The immediate aims are the improvement of the original native culture and the spread of German as the lingua franca.
>
> (author's translation)

However, the First World War came to the colony shortly after the education ordinance had been drafted and the new language and education policies which might have changed the linguistic situation in German New Guinea remained unimplemented.

3.3.4.4. Mission Language Policies

It has been pointed out by Mihalic (1977) that language policy in the area of what is now Papua New Guinea has tended to be the responsibility of the missions rather than the government. Though the latter laid down certain vague policies or guidelines, the practical aspects of their implementation, especially with regard to education, appear to have been left to the missions. It has already been shown that the involvement of the German colonial government in education gained importance only in the very last years of German control and never really got off the ground.

Mission activities in German times were carried out by four main groups each of which had to find its own solution to the problem of language and communication. However, there is one factor common to all mission language policies in this period, namely their hostility towards NGP. The view expressed by the mission of the Divine Word in 1901 may be regarded as representative: "This undesirable Pidgin English can neither serve as a real language in intercourse, nor as the bearer of culture. It might be most desirable and beneficial if it could be suppressed." (quoted from Gunther 1969:48).

A number of Protestant missions operating from English speaking countries had established themselves in the area of the Bismarck Archipelago before the declaration of the German protectorate. Though the local vernaculars were used for mission work, the fact that English was taught in mission schools belonging to this group was a continued cause of annoyance to the German government, though the resolution in 1904 to make a knowledge of German compulsory for all missionaries (cf. Fellmann 1906:253) diminished the influence of English even in its traditional strongholds.

More influential were the three mission companies operating from Germany and employing German missionaries. Each of them was restricted to one area. The Lutheran mission started its activities in the Finschhafen-Sattelberg area and used the local vernaculars Yabim and Kâte as mission languages. Since the mission operated in a fairly small area, this solution did not encounter any major difficulties. Neuhauss (1911:120f) gives the following account of its successful implementation:

> The Neuendettelsau missionaries were successfully engaged in reducing the linguistic confusion in their sphere of influence by introducing a unitary teaching language zone by zone. Jabim was chosen as the language for the Melanesian coastal people. Since Bukaua is a dialect differing only slightly from Jabim and since the Bukaua people learn it easily, Jabim is now the language of communication and education in the whole area, which begins north of Finschhafen and ends at the mouth of the Francisca River. It will probably be possible to gradually extend this area to the vicinity of the English border .... In any case, the artificial introduction of a common language must be seen as a great achievement, for the Papuan is a conservative and clings to the old ways with great tenacity.
>
> (author's translation)

The Catholic mission of the Sacred Heart, operating from Rabaul, found itself in a similar position:

> The Rabaul pioneers fortunately took up work in an area dominated by three rather large languages: Kuanua (30,000), Lote (12,000) and Baining (6,000). Until after World War I they had more than enough mission work in New Britain itself.
>
> (Mihalic 1977:653)

Kleintitschen (1906:179) praises the efforts of the Catholic missions in the Gazelle Peninsula to replace NGP with the local language (Tolai) though he has to admit that these efforts had not as yet achieved the intended success. There is certainly no indication that the missions in this area gave any support to NGP. The Divine Word Mission, operating on the New Guinea mainland, on the other hand, was in a less favourable position: "By 1916 they had established more than a dozen beachheads along the north coast of New Guinea from Vanimo to Madang but almost each time landed in a different language area." (Mihalic 1977). In an attempt to overcome this problem the missionaries tried to use German as a lingua franca, an attempt which was not very successful.

However, there were differences between the various stations established by the Divine Word missionaries. Thus Fr Klarentius (1909-10: 110) remarks on "the predominant use of the unbearable Pidgin English" (author's translation) in Alexishafen and the widespread use of German on Tumleo and Ali Islands. As late as 1973 the author found some very competent speakers of German on the latter island.

Reports concerning the success of the German language policy of the Divine Word missionaries are at variance. An anonymous article in the *Steyler Missionsbote* (1910/11:89) states that:

> The Catholic mission performs yet another cultural activity which cannot be overestimated because it only promotes German interests. They have adopted the principle of speaking only German with their 300 to 400 black pupils and workers, thereby pushing aside the ghastly Pidgin English. And they are doing it with total success.
>
> (author's translation)

However, an outside observer, Neuhauss, is not impressed by the efforts of the Catholic mission to promote German:

> The Catholic missions educate their pupils in the German language; yet this knowledge, as far as I could ascertain, is restricted to the recitation of verses and songs. It remained quite impossible for me to make myself understood in German with these pupils even on the most elementary topics. This may be rather better in their communication with the teachers where daily recurrent topics are concerned and there are certainly exceptions. But as a lingua franca German is quite unsuited; it is too complicated and besides contains sounds which the native finds hard to pronounce.
>
> (Neuhauss 1911:121; author's translation)

It may be that the limited success of this policy led the Divine Word missionaries to seriously consider Coastal Malay as a mission lingua franca, particularly as it was already widely spoken on the government stations on the New Guinea mainland. However, this solution was rejected because, according to Mihalic, of "the danger of thereby introducing Islamic influence." (Mihalic 1977:655)

It is not clear to what extent the various missions were compelled to use NGP among the plantation workers, but it seems plausible that it was used at least to a small extent. Unfortunately, both Höltker (1945:44-63) and Mihalic (1977) are vague about this.[1] The author has found no evidence for Hall's report (1955:36) that an orthography for NGP was developed by the missions in co-operation with the government. Instead, it appears that the missions chose to neglect and even oppose the use of NGP. Changes in mission attitudes and policies towards NGP were very gradual and were felt only after the termination of German control over New Guinea.

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[1] Some brief notes about the use of NGP by the Sacred Heart missionaries are found in their *Missionshefte*. For instance, Kleintitschen reports from Manus:

> Unfortunately we could not communicate with the people in their language. But the conversation was not halted for that reason. It was conducted in the much abused Pidgin English. It may be regretted that this foreign language serves as a lingua franca in a German colony. But considering the conditions on the Archipelago this corrupted English is a necessary evil to which the individual must willy nilly adapt. It is spread over all islands of our South Seas Colony such that one can get by everywhere with kanaka English and communicate with totally foreign natives.
>
> (*Missionshefte* 1914, 31:66; author's translation)

Father P.J. Dick reports from the German Solomons (*Missionshefte* 1910, 27:542):

> I made a long journey to the Solomon Islands. On this journey I land on an island and hear that a chief is near to death. I visit him and find him in a condition which leaves no doubt about his imminent death. The man understands Pidgin English and so I can, despite the fact that his language is completely unknown to me, give him rudimentary instruction and baptize him.
>
> (author's translation)

3.3.4.5. Indigenous Attitudes Towards NGP

It is not surprising that indigenous attitudes were given little consideration in the debate about a language policy for German New Guinea. Language policies, as has been shown, were designed to meet the needs of the colonial government, the missions, and the settlers. The principal aims of these groups were to bring about changes in the social, political, and cultural behaviour of the colonised peoples. Ideally a lingua franca would enable the whites to communicate with their servants and labourers without becoming a means of solidarity among the colonised peoples themselves, a requirement which was impossible to meet.

The wishes of the local peoples, on the other hand, were for a means of both vertical and horizontal communication in colonial society. The desire for communication with the white masters gradually became subordinate to the more important need for communication across tribal boundaries and the expression of solidarity in the plantation communities. The only language which could fill this need was NGP and, once the changes introduced by the colonial power had been accepted, it spread rapidly without encouragement from the white colonisers. The trader Hernsheim reports this phenomenon as early as the beginning of the 1880s:

> In New Britain, where about seven years before not a native understood a European language, this sort of English is now spoken by everyone, especially by the children; some speak it with considerable fluency. Already there are often natives who use the idiom among themselves in speaking of the whites or things pertaining to them.
>
> (quoted from Reinecke 1937:738)

In the early stages at least, two other motives influenced the widespread desire among the local population to learn NGP. The first was the belief that a knowledge of the language of the whites - and it must be remembered that NGP at this stage was generally referred to as **tok waitman** - would bring with it some of the white man's powers.[1] This was pointed out by Reed (1943:286), speaking of his experiences with Kwoma youths:

> Their own language was not lacking in terms of abuse, but those in pidgin were preferred. It was not ascertained that natives believe some of the white man's power to reside in these words; but it is not unlikely that they do. Similar results demand similar formulas.

[1] Lawrence reports (1964:68) that NGP was referred to by the Gari people in the Madang District as the 'language of the deities'.

A second and more important reason for its spread was that NGP enabled its speakers to rise to a position of relative power within the colonial system and to be in close association with those who held the real power in the colony. NGP was

> ... the language which permitted access to the colonial society. Indeed, knowledge of Tok Pisin was originally the criterion for appointment as a luluai or tultul (village officials given military caps and expected to translate the words of visiting government officials, to assemble the population for censuses and tax collection - in other words to be the official brokers between the village and the secular colonial society).
>
> (Sankoff 1976:302)

The following observations made in the *Samoanische Zeitung* of 12 October 1912 provide a lively account of the prestige enjoyed by NGP among the native population of German New Guinea:

> All the masters speak English; the soldiers, the supervisors, the village elders, in short, all those to whom the people look up and from whom they expect their immediate advantage.... If someone is to become an overseer of workers or a leader of a village the question is always put: Who understands Pigeon English? In the German South Seas, whoever wants to better himself, defend his rights, be respected, secure an office or post, offer his wares, engage in trade, increase his property and wealth, they all regard a knowledge of Pigeon English as an essential pre-condition.
>
> (author's translation)

The ready acceptance of NGP by the indigenous population went hand in hand with a rejection of the mission and government efforts to promote the use of German. The writer of the above article leaves no doubt about this:

> In the educational institutions of the main government stations German has achieved a shaky recognition and predominance. In other places some German is also spoken as long as the schoolmaster or mistress is in the vicinity. But ten paces further on one can hear and see: "Me no like Deutsch! Me like talk all the same Germans, all the same policemen..." .... So it is that English is spoken again and again. For them it is the language of the Germans, the only language with which they can get anywhere.
>
> (author's translation)

Thus, it appears that indigenous attitudes towards NGP were a significant factor in shaping the linguistic situation in German New Guinea. In the 40 years of German control, NGP was adopted by this group as their lingua franca with the result that both its linguistic growth and geographical spread were virtually taken out of the hands of the white colonisers.

3.3.5. *POLICIES AND ATTITUDES 1915-1941*[1]

3.3.5.1. Non-official Expatriate Attitudes

The influx of greater numbers of English speaking whites into New Guinea after the termination of German control meant the end of an era in which the official language was not directly related to the pidgin used in the territory. In German times, NGP was treated by the settlers as being a language quite different from German which had to be learnt, and learnt moreover from the natives. Not so after World War I. For most of the new English speaking residents, NGP was just a corrupted and debased form of English. It was generally believed that communication with the indigenous population could be established by means of *ad hoc* simplifications of English, using baby talk grammar and adding -im and -pela[2] to some words. The result of this conviction has been described by the *Rabaul Times* in the following terms (8 November 1935):

> Unfortunately, ever since the Australian occupation of New Guinea, the correct pidgin English has been steadily undergoing a process of mutilation and corruption, until at this present stage - after over twenty years of barbarous treatment - pidgin-English has become almost unrecognisable and in many instances is unintelligible to the native.

The reason for the unwillingness to learn proper NGP has been given by a number of writers as the unwillingness of the 'Britishers' to

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[1] This section is an attempt to bring together the scattered information about NGP during this period, thereby remedying a situation which has been characterized by Laycock (1970d:108) as follows:

> After the mandation of German New Guinea to Australia after World War I, little is heard of Pidgin from Australian sources, except perhaps the comment of the government anthropologist, F.E. Williams, that 'at present the means of communication (in Papua and New Guinea) are pidgin Motu, pidgin English, telepathy, and swearing.'

[2] The remarks by Hogbin (1939:163 fn.1), though referring to Solomon Islands Pidgin, reflect similar attitudes in New Guinea:

> Europeans are mistaken when they imagine that by adding a few "fellas" and "belongas" to their ordinary talk they are speaking pidgin. It is a real language with rules of its own, and although the vocabulary is very largely English the constructions are Melanesian, and the words have to be given a Melanesian pronunciation. Thus, to take the example of the pronouns only, pidgin, in common with Melanesian dialects, distinguishes between dual and plural and has separate forms for the inclusive and exclusive. "You me two fella" and "me two fella" are the inclusive and exclusive forms respectively of the dual, and "you me altogether" and "me fella altogether" the corresponding forms in the plural. I am convinced that more than half of the troubles between natives and their employers is caused by linguistic misunderstandings arising from faulty pidgin.

learn foreign languages and the resulting 'let-them-speak-English' attitude. Thus, Shelton-Smith writes in the *Rabaul Times* (24 May 1929):

> The Briton arrogantly takes it for granted that everyone can speak English. Most people pander to his insularity, and there are few countries in which he cannot make himself understood in his own language. New Guinea is one of the few. However firmly he may have made up his mind to the contrary, however determined he may be that the dirty niggers shall understand him, by gad, sir, he has to swallow his pride and learn the tense-less, declensionless, and often obscene jargon that is the only general language of the islands.

This attitude towards the language itself was supplemented by the typical colonialist attitudes towards its use and functions. The argument that a knowledge of the language of the white masters would allow 'unauthorised natives' to understand conversations which they were not supposed to comprehend - an argument which preoccupied the minds of many German settlers - was also used by the Australian expatriates. Thus, in an editorial of the *Rabaul Times* (8 November 1935) it was stated that:

> There is a decided danger in allowing house-servants to obtain too large a vocabulary of the English language in that English-speaking Whites enjoy no privacy in their conversation in the home, and there is often the danger - especially at meal times - of conversations being overheard and partially understood, resulting in scraps of gossip - mutilated and distorted - being passed on with damaging results. It is, perhaps, not wholly realised how much is carried to the "house-boy" from the dinner table and from there to other "house-boys". It must be remembered that our actions and words form a far greater interest amongst natives, whose interests do not extend, as ours do, to the fluctuation of the share market, the Abyssinian situation or the favourite for next Saturday's steeplechase. And it is not always what we actually say which is repeated in the "house-boy"; it is what the servant *thought* we said from his partial knowledge of pure English. Herein lies the danger of introducing plain English into our households. Such dangers never existed during the German time - not even in English homes, for the gulf which divides true pidgin and plain English is wide enough to maintain conversations, unintelligible to the servants, over the walnuts and wine. A breach of confidence has often been laid at the door of an innocent White as a result of scraps of conversation overheard at the dinner table by the "poker-faced" serving boy.

This argument concluded with the observation that: "it is not impossible that the respect maintained by the Germans was, to some degree, due to observing that old adage about 'familiarity breeding contempt'." To preclude the development of this undesirable familiarity the expatriates also insisted on certain forms of address which would further highlight the relationship of non-solidarity between white and black:

> Europeans have consciously attempted to inculcate in the natives - free villagers as well as indentured workers - special forms of etiquette and address which show deference to themselves. And they have been not without some small measure of success. In the matter of speech, for

> instance, most whites insist on natives' using such forms of address as "Yes, sir." or "Yes, Master." The few who do not insist on such verbal trappings of supremacy offer no alternatives; so it is safe to assume that this pattern will prevail. It is doubtful, indeed, whether many natives as yet recognize such formalities as being a mark of caste distinction, for one frequently hears the terms used among the natives themselves. What they have learned is that failure to use these forms with whites will bring at least a reprimand if not a cuff on the head.
>
> (Reed 1943:290)

Whilst most expatriates believed that a form of broken English was sufficient for their restricted dealings with the indigenous population, there was also a widespread unwillingness on the part of the settlers to teach proper English. Thus Groves, who later was to become the first Director of Education in Australian New Guinea, wrote:

> The average European actually does not want the native to know English well; and it is certain that relations would not be improved if English were widely used by the natives .... And if the scope of education is to be restricted, and its wider aims subordinated to the teaching of English simply for the doubtful advantage of facilitating intercourse between the native and the occasional European, the gain will be incommensurate with the loss.
>
> (Groves 1936, quoted from Smith 1969:16-7)

The combination of these two attitudes, the unwillingness to learn proper NGP and the refusal to teach proper English, had grave consequences for social relations between the various racial groups in New Guinea. The attitudes of the white settlers resulted in a partial and often complete breakdown in communication between the races, rather than in new modes of inter-racial communication.

3.3.5.2. Government Attitudes and Policies

Reed (1943:273) remarks, with regard to official language policies, that:

> Three main courses were open to the territorial administrations with respect to the language problem. They could (a) teach the natives their European language; (b) adopt a native speech as a *lingua franca* and teach it; or (c) accept frankly the local pidgin, attempt to purify it, and give it official status. Actually, no one of these alternatives has been adopted and carried through in its entirety.

However, in contrast with the German administration in the years immediately preceding World War I, the Australian administration lacked constructive initiatives and funds. In the absence of these two factors, an implementation of policies (a) and (b) was hardly possible. It was hoped that, in the first years of administration, English would eventually emerge as the predominant lingua franca. In

its *Annual Report to the League of Nations* (1922:23-6) the Australian government discussed this question:

> One of the questions to be faced in any educational scheme in a native country is the adoption of a common language. In the Kokopo School there are pupils from some eleven different districts, whose tribal languages are totally distinct from one another, and whose only means of communication is the ubiquitous "pidgin" English, the only dialect common to the Territory. "Pidgin" English can hardly be dignified by the name of language, as its vocabulary is extremely limited and its construction and mode of expression are of the crudest. It has evolved from the old "beche-de-mer" English of the early traders, with certain local distinctive characteristics. Certain words "bullamakau" (tinned meat), "kai-kai" (food) and others are common to all Islands, but in the Territory there are distinctive words and phrases which are only found locally, e.g., "maski" (never mind) and "raus" (go away), which have been culled from Chinese and German and are in every day use amongst the natives.
>
> "Pidgin" is learnt by the indentured natives on plantations where it is the only means of conversation. At one time the native who had been under indenture could always be distinguished by his knowledge of "pidgin," but in later days boys who have never been to work speak and understand "pidgin," having picked it up from the older men.
>
> In the choice of a language to be inculcated as a common language in the Territory the language spoken in the Gazelle Peninsula, commonly known as the "New Britain" language, is the one most often suggested.
>
> After mature consideration it was decided to make an effort to introduce English purely spoken, as the official language of the school. English is the official and commercial language of the Territory, and one of the objects of the course laid down is to fit a modicum of the pupils for minor positions in the official and commercial activities of the Territory. It is interesting to note the progress made so far. The teacher will dictate to a pupil the sentence "Did you go for a walk?" and the boy will write the words down quite correctly, thoroughly understanding the meaning. The teacher will then ask him "Where did you go?" but the oral answer required to this question is almost invariably given by the boy in "pidgin" English - "Me bin go along Vunapope." There is, however, little doubt that the disinclination to speak grammatical English will disappear as time goes on.[1]

Whatever the intentions of the Government were at the time, the policies were never carried through. Lawrence (1964:48) characterises the effort to introduce English and its failure in the following terms:

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[1] The usefulness of NGP in the schools was admitted by at least some teachers, as can be seen from the following quotation (Reinecke 1937:762-3):

> The head teacher in Government schools made a much franker admission two years later (Report of 1924-25, pp.13-14):
>
> "In dealing with the subject of method, let me acknowedge the debt a teacher owes, at times, to 'Pidgin' English. Etymologically it is, of course, an absurdity, but its usefulness is extraordinary. In the infant school it assists as a starting medium; in the middle department it can be wisely dispensed with whenever possible; while in the upper classes one may, without fear of doing harm to the knowledge of real English, introduce 'Pidgin' as a testing medium. It is a valuable teaching aid whem one has, perhaps, exhausted one's supply of new ones. I have recently tried it very often, with great success."

> In education, the official aim was to teach English and train natives for the lower grades of the Public Service. But between 1923 and 1937, annual expenditure for the whole Territory fell from £18,000 to £5,000. By 1939-40, there were only six Administration schools with a total of 491 pupils: four in New Britain; one in New Ireland; and one at Chimbu (Central Highlands). Few Madang District natives were enrolled: one went to New Britain in 1927; three in 1928; and six in 1929 (after which no figures are given in the *Annual Reports*). In 1941, a seventh school was opened near Madang with 150 pupils but was closed down a year later because of the Japanese invasion. The failure of native education meant, of course, the retention of Pidgin English as the *lingua franca*.

The failure to educate even a small elite of English speakers was accompanied by the complete failure to make English the lingua franca of the uneducated masses. Despite the fact that English was often referred to as the language of official and commercial activities, it was unknown to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory. NGP remained the sole medium of communication between the administration and indigenous population. NGP had behind it "the logic of its daily use - by government officers, planters, recruiters, and missionaries, and by all those natives with whom Europeans have dealings of whatever kind." (Reed 1943:274)

Voices urging the government to adopt a firm stand on the language issue were heard in the last years before the War. Thus in 1935, 20 years after the beginning of Australian control, the *Rabaul Times* states in an editorial (8 November 1935) that "the time has arrived when some decisive steps should be taken by the authorities to determine whether the common language in this Territory shall be pidgin-English or plain English."

But even the increased pressure for official recognition of NGP and steps to make it a more efficient medium of communication appear to have been in vain. The administration preferred to ignore the problem, thereby continuing an unsatisfactory status quo.

3.3.5.3. Mission Attitudes and Policies

Whereas both the settlers' and government's attitudes reflect an unwillingness to get involved with the problems of the majority of the inhabitants of the territory, the missions, and in particular the Catholic missions, were interested in establishing closer contacts with the native population. Because of the vital role of language in mission work, the policies and attitudes of the various missions towards NGP have been fairly well documented, in particular by Höltker (1945:44-63) and Mihalic (1977). Generally speaking, the attitudes of the Catholic Missions became very much relaxed in the years between

the Wars, to the extent that NGP was made a mission lingua franca in a number of areas.

The reasons for this were the desire to reach the large numbers of plantation workers and the spread of mission activities into new areas. With regard to the former, Müller (1932:133) reports:

> In the year 1928 in Vunapope, a special Sunday service for the workers was established, which is attended by numerous workers from the entire surrounding area. Prayers and songs and, of course, the sermon are held in Pidgin English (Tok Boi). This arrangement not only facilitates the Catholic workers' fulfillment of their religious duties but it is also a means of spreading Catholic belief in areas where no missionary has hitherto been.
>
> (author's translation)

A case in which the second reason resulted in the adoption of NGP is that of Manus Island:

> The most widely spread lingua franca at present is Pidgin English. The padres in Manus have used it successfully in teaching and in the catechism, since the numerous dialects rendered the use of a native language with the local population ineffective. Therefore they have made efforts to investigate Pidgin English more thoroughly, to set down its grammar and vocabulary and to use it in educational books. Apart from the linguistic interest the great practical use justifies the effort made. All workers in the Archipelago speak this Pidgin English known as Tok Boi, moreover most natives, especially those of the smaller tribes, use it in conversation with whites and with black outsiders.
>
> (Hüskes 1932:191, author's translation)

As a result, NGP was seriously studied[1] in both Rabaul and Alexishafen. Höltker (1945:54f) reports that the decision to use NGP for missionary work was the issue of a number of conferences. The most immediate aim of these conferences was to increase the efficiency of NGP for its new function. Thus, a number of grammars and dictionaries were prepared, the first being that of Brenninkmeyer (1924), followed by Borchardt's (1926) and a number of others, many of which were the result of teamwork and therefore do not bear the name of an author. These dictionaries and grammars were followed by the publication of catechisms, hymns, prayer books and literature of an entertaining kind such as *Frend bilong mi* and the comic strip *Piktel*. In about 1930 a meeting convened at Marienberg and spent a whole month drafting publications in NGP (Father Ross, private communication).

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[1] German missionaries had the reputation of being excellent speakers of NGP. Thus Hogbin (1939:163 fn.1) remarks: "It is an interesting fact that German missionaries in New Guinea, who have to learn pidgin as an entirely foreign language, usually speak it far better than those whose mother tongue is English." and the writer of a phrase book of NGP (Helton 1940) mentions on the title page that: "... this language is used in conversation with Natives, Asiatics and German White Missionaries."

The adoption of NGP as a mission language by the Catholics was not, as has been pointed out by Höltker (1945:44-63) an attempt to raise NGP to any official status. Rather it was the result of practical considerations. NGP, it was argued, was the most widely spoken lingua franca in New Guinea and it therefore had to be used as a mission medium. It was hoped that NGP would eventually be repaced by other more suitable media. An unsuccessful attempt to promote a local vernacular to the status of a mission lingua franca was the experiment, announced by Bishop Wolf in 1922, to introduce Boiken as a lingua franca. Though Boiken was taught in Alexishafen for a while and though a considerable amount of written Boiken was available, the attempt had to be given up due to the unwillingness of the New Guineans to adopt the language, among other practical difficulties. (Father Ross, private communication and Z'graggen 1977).

Education at the time was the concern of the missions rather than the government, and the aims of mission education did not necessarily coincide with those of the government. Thus, it appears that little effort was made by the missions in the Trust Territory to formally teach English before 1930. This aspect of mission education was deplored in the 'Report of Native Education in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea' (*Report to League of Nations* 1929-30:128):

> The general scheme of organization in these Mission Institutions is commendable and, if effectively carried out, should produce good results .... A fatal blot on the whole scheme is the absence of the teaching of English. Text-books, hymn-books, etc. are printed in the local vernacular. All teaching is done in the same tongue. This vernacular is a foreign language to the incoming native, and a foreign language to those among whom he is destined to work. There appears to be no reason why English should not, in all this native education, be the basis of the curriculum, and no reason why the text-books, hymn-books, etc., should not be written in simple English.

As a result of government pressure "English became a compulsory subject in all good schools, i.e. schools with European teachers, in 1932 or 1933. The government provided books and materials, but only on condition that English was taught." (Father Blaes, private communication). Father Blaes continues with the following account of mission education practice at the time:

> Thus virtually all children had to use three languages in these schools. In the first four years they learnt to read and write their own vernacular and Pidgin. In the last four or five years they had to learn English. Arithmetic (about an hour per day) was taught in English from the beginning.

Father Blaes' assessment of the success of the teaching of English contrasts sharply with the optimistic forecasts of the government that

"there is no reason why a native should not acquire a knowledge of pure English as readily as he does the 'pidgin'." (*Report on Territory* 1929-30:129). Instead, for 90% and more of all children English was just a waste of time, and of no use whatsoever in their later life. Only those who proceeded to high schools could make use of English. "All the children learnt sufficient English to enable them to read the available school primers and to write accordingly, but otherwise this hour every day was lost time in the village schools." (Father Blaes, private communication 1973).

In conclusion, it can be said that a more favourable attitude towards NGP prevailed during this period in the Catholic missions. It was used in an ever widening context of situations, including education.[1] At the same time, efforts were made to stabilise grammar, vocabulary and spelling in order to maximise the usefulness of NGP as a mission lingua franca.

3.3.5.4. Indigenous Attitudes Towards NGP

In the years between the Wars, NGP consolidated its status as a language for communication across tribal and linguistic boundaries, and the culture of the work-boy made inroads into more remote areas. The language of this contact culture was eagerly accepted by the male members of the young generation, and a knowledge of NGP was a most desirable asset:

> To become a work boy far afield is the great adventure of lives that from childhood have been bounded by the lagoon or the two hills that walled in the valley where the village lay. At home the boys have spoken a language known to perhaps a hundred, in rare cases a thousand, people; they have followed ways of life peculiarly their own and recognized as unlike those of their neighbors of the next inlet. From the narrowness of their own little communities they can escape for a few years into this wider community where human relations are differently patterned, where a language is spoken in which they can converse with boys seven shades lighter or six inches taller than themselves, boys with the curiously long, malformed heads customary in the Arowi district of New Britain, or the bound heads of the Solomon Islanders, boys with the elaborate, regular scarification that adorns the backs of the Sepik River natives. They will speak a language that even the white man understands and learn to give commands in the same insolent and arrogant fashion as white masters.
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> (Mead 1931:144)

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[1] It must also be mentioned that a special branch of education, that of the training of indigenous catechists, made such widespread use of NGP that it replaced other vernaculars such as Tolai in the 1940s: "In the 1940s Pidgin increasingly gained the upperhand over Tolai as the teaching language because it was intended to gradually change over to pure English with its help." (Laufer 1961:234; author's translation)

A case study of the attitudes referred to by Mead is given by Thurnwald (1937:322) who reports on his interpreters from the Keram River:

> In the absence of interpreters there, I tried recruiting some boys to remain with the servants I had with me. After about two months, they had learnt enough pidgin English to interpret for me, and I made a stay of several months near their villages. Once I returned with such a recruit to the place near where I wanted to stay and provided him with a box full of gifts - knives, ax blades, loin cloths, belts, beads, and sticks of Virginia tobacco. When our motorboat arrived his people were standing on the river bank to greet us. He shouted across to them in his best newly acquired pidgin English and even refused to talk his own language which he pretended to have forgotten.

The widespread acceptance of the new cultural changes and NGP, the key providing access to them, was reflected in new modes of transmission of this language. It was no longer learned from the European or even on the plantations, but became part of the education of young children in the villages:

> The desire to emulate "finish-time" boys, who have travelled so far and seen so much, is a motivating factor impelling youngsters to pick up a knowledge of pidgin. Groups of small boys among the Kwoma were frequently heard repeating pidgin words and phrases, or singing them as nonsense words to native rhythms. This closely resembles similar child's play in our own culture, and achieves quite the same result. In this manner are learned the proper speech sounds and pronunciation; meanings can be acquired later.
>
> (Reed 1943:286)

It has been stressed, however, that the ready acceptance of NGP was restricted to males of the younger generation. Females, with the exception of those educated by the missions,[1] were not expected to participate in these changes.

At the same time, resistance to the breaking down of traditional village culture was shown by some members of the old generation, in particular the traditional village leaders, affecting their attitudes towards NGP. Reed (1943:286ff) discusses some case histories:

> The fact that pidgin, by and large, is the language of the male youth of the Territory widens the natural division between the generations. Elders, in individual cases, may try to bridge this gap, but such is not the rule. The two government-appointed headmen in the Waskuk sub-section of the Kwoma tribe, each an elderly sib leader, show contrasting attitudes toward cultural change and the language which

[1] Cf. Reed (1943:285):

> Pidgin has diffused to the women from two principal sources: the areas of white settlement and the missions .... The missionaries, more interested in the souls of natives than in their sex, are quite as willing to instruct women as men in the *tok bilong God*. Mission girls learn the same speech as do their husbands and brothers in the labor lines. If some of the oaths of deeper hue are neglected in their regular studies, such are soon picked up when they return to their villages.

> typifies it. Maruk, the staid leader of Sombunduar, has persevered in his strong dislike for the new life conditions. He has even gone as far as to remove his entire clan to a spot on the outskirts of Kwoma territory, farthest from the ordinary path of approach to the district. Although he could not prevent his own and adopted sons from going off to work, he knows few pidgin words and uses them but rarely. Sowinambi, on the other hand, the leader of Weyanbank sib, is a different type. He displays a type of behavior which in our culture would earn him the derogatory title of "politician". Whenever government patrols visit the Kwoma, he hovers near the white officer while Maruk remains aloof. Sowinambi's command of pidgin is not much better than Maruk's; but he exercises it on every possible occasion and strives to build up his vocabulary. His fellow-tribesmen remark on his behavior, saying, in pidgin, "Ěm i gĭvĭm planti gris long kiap" (he is a great flatterer of the government officers).

Acceptance of NGP was thus closely linked with attitudes toward traditional modes of behaviour and culture change. At this stage most New Guineans fully realised that NGP was not the language of the whites and that a knowledge of NGP would not automatically open to them the road to European wealth and knowledge. Yet this did not result in any widespread desire to acquire a knowledge of English. Colonial society between the wars was a caste society in which it was virtually impossible for the colonised peoples to gain access to the dominant class in the colony. However, the very fact that NGP was a caste language fostered a strong feeling of solidarity among its speakers, and it is not surprising that NGP became an important factor in the emergence of cargo movements.

3.3.6. *POLICIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS NGP 1942 TO THE PRESENT*

3.3.6.1. Introduction

The discussion of the policies and attitudes towards NGP until the outbreak of World War II dealt with events of restricted local importance. Though their implications had great significance for the growth and spread of NGP, the issues involved did not attract the attention of the outside world. The traumatic impact of World War II on Australian-controlled New Guinea meant, among other things, the end of its splendid isolation. With the end of the colonial era and with the United Nations taking a vivid interest in the politics and social developments of the Trust Territory of New Guinea, both official language policies and the attitudes of various groups towards language became a matter of wider importance.

The most important factor in the post-war events was the attempt, supported by ample financial means, to make English known among a large proportion of the indigenous population; accompanying this attempt

was their growing awareness of the importance of English as a language of upward social mobility. However, this enthusiastic acceptance of English was dampened by the government's realisation that English was at best supplementary to NGP and that the great value of NGP as a nationwide lingua franca could not be ignored.

Many issues dealt with in this section still remain undecided. Statements about expected future developments are necessarily highly tentative, in particular since the reluctance to grant a definite status to NGP continues to dominate the official attitudes towards this language.

3.3.6.2. Non-official Expatriate Attitudes

The War resulted in a greater diversification of attitudes, with three groups deserving special mention. The new deal promised by the Australian administration resulted from the gratitude of the Australian population to the New Guinean soldiers who had helped to keep the Japanese from their doorstep. Though there was widespread agreement that conditions in the Territory had to be improved, there was disagreement about the changes needed. This disagreement is quite strongly reflected in the attitudes towards NGP, with the voices of its opponents and supporters becoming increasingly loud.

The fiercest opposition to both official and unofficial use of NGP came from the home-lobby, i.e. those who had little or no experience with the language. Prolonged debates in a number of Australian newspapers contained bitter attacks on NGP, based, as Wurm (1969:30-42) has pointed out, on three arguments:

i) that NGP was a revolting and debased form of English;
ii) that NGP was inadequate as an unambiguous means of communication;
iii) that NGP was an instrument of colonial oppression designed to emphasise social and racial distinctions.

The views of the home-lobby and other opposition groups have been discussed by both Hall (1955a) and Wurm (1969:30-42) and the present author does not want to enter this debate, both because he is unconvinced of its usefulness and because discussion of NGP's merits and shortcomings has little bearing on the language itself.

The supporters of NGP in this debate belonged to various groups. First, the use of NGP continued to receive support from the dwindling numbers of colonialists who regarded it as a tool for the maintenance of the colonial status quo. Second, an increasing number of whites

were prepared to take NGP seriously and use it for the implementation of the new deal and, in more recent years, to bring about the transition from a colonial to an independent Papua New Guinea. It is interesting to note that the greater the familiarity with NGP, the less the opposition to its use as a lingua franca.[1] On the whole, there has been a significant change in the attitudes of the expatriate community towards NGP, particularly in the years immediately preceding independence. It has become accepted as a real language, increasing numbers of people have made use of the teaching facilities of various official and non-official institutions[2] and, after many years of colonial oppression, NGP now has become a language of solidarity between members of all races.

A last group of supporters, a small but influential body of academics from Australian and American and, more recently, Papua New Guinean tertiary institutions, has done a great deal to dispel the prejudices and ill-founded opinions about this language. Among these, Hall, Wurm, Laycock and Dutton have provided both a balanced framework for the discussion of NGP's role in future Papua New Guinea and a large body of factual information about the language itself. Two conferences[3] on NGP and its role were held in Port Moresby in 1969 and 1973 resulting in a growing awareness among the new leaders of Papua New Guinea of the significance of the language problems.

The most recent history of attitudes towards NGP shows a definite decrease in the importance of the settlers and home-lobby as factors influencing the linguistic situation in New Guinea. By 1945 NGP was well on the way to becoming the majority language of the local population and the developments affecting it were no longer a matter of expatriate control.

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[1] Thus Wurm (1969:37) remarks on these criticisms:

> Characteristically, most of the objections come from outside the Territory, or reflect attitudes which impinge upon the Territory from outside. Many of them are the result of misinformed or prejudiced opinion, and the attacks on Pidgin are very largely emotionally based, or constitute rationalizations of emotional attitudes.

[2] Courses in NGP are held at both the Australian National University and the University of Papua New Guinea. Some excellent teaching aids, such as Dutton's course (1973), have become available in recent years. However, officials of the colonial administration were required to take these courses only in the years immediately preceding independence; as stated by one writer: "in 1973, probably 20 years too late, the Australian Army started to produce its first formally-trained Pidgin speakers." (Bell 1977). Further remarks on this subject have been made by Dutton (1977).

[3] The proceedings of these two conferences are available in print, those of the 1969 conference were reproduced in *New Guinea*, vol.4/2, whilst those of the 1973 meeting appeared as a special publication of *Kivung* (McElhanon, ed. 1975).

3.3.6.3. Government Language Policies

The years of the Second World War were not a time for language policies. The need for effective communication overruled all other considerations and NGP was adopted by all parties as the best means to this end. Post-war policies matched those of pre-war times in their lack of any clearcut decision, the heritage of which continues to burden independent Papua New Guinea. The formation of a clearly defined language policy remains a complex and largely unresolved problem and the author has therefore chosen to limit his discussion to the salient issues. The period under discussion can be divided into three main phases with regard to language policy:

i) 1945-1954 - NGP receives official support
ii) 1955-1969 - indecision and opposition regarding NGP
iii) 1970 onwards - gradual removal of opposition to NGP

Such a division should not conceal the fact that conflicting policies coexisted in different geographical and administrative areas, and continue to do so. Nonetheless, whilst it is difficult to follow up all the fluctuating attitudes towards NGP, the policies with regard to English as an official language have remained fairly consistent throughout this period. Since 1945 English has been increasingly accessible to most members of the community, a development which has had significant impact on NGP.

One of the first efforts of the post-war administration was to re-establish communications with the indigenous population. The only means to achieve this goal in a reasonable period of time was to use NGP. Whilst paying lip-service to the aim of eventually replacing NGP with proper English, the use of NGP for a large number of official purposes received both moral and financial support from the administration. Thus, in the years following the War, at least five NGP newspapers for circulation among the indigenous population were established, NGP radio broadcasts were institutionalised and it became a medium of instruction in some government schools. Baker (1953:194) remarks: "In short, they were popularizing the linguistic medium against which they are theoretically opposed."

With regard to native education, Groves, the director of education, attempted to implement the policies and ideals he had developed before the War. Though he had to compromise with the administration's predilection for English in the first years, his strong support for NGP became apparent in the 1952 Education Bill:

> Introducing the 1952 Education Bill Groves stated that "one of the main scholastic aims in the administration's school system is the teaching of English".[3] But in the 1950 syllabus, revised 1952, he authorised the use of Pidgin under certain circumstances. "If Pidgin itself represents a successful avenue for teaching those important things which it is considered desirable to teach at this stage in the village environment," he suggested in 1951, "It would not be unwise to give it official approval, standardise its phonetic orthography and use it to the fullest exent."
>
> (Smith 1969:17)

Throughout these years, the government also supported the policies of those missions who favoured NGP or vernacular education.

Whilst these educational policies and the widespread use of NGP in various news media was of great importance for the consolidation of this language, the use of NGP in a number of other areas promoted its functional and geographical expansion. It became the language[1] of the army, of some of the new local government councils and for the training of medical and para-medical personnel. Its geographic spread was most noticeable in the Highlands, though its gradual spread into the hitherto Hiri Motu-using area of Papua was also of importance.[2]

This policy of official support for NGP was dealt a severe blow in July 1953 when a report from the U.N. Trusteeship Council stated: "The U.N. Trusteeship Council today urged Australia to put a stop to the use of pidgin English in the Trust Territory of New Guinea." (quoted from Hall 1954:85).

It was argued, among other things that:

> Melanesian pidgin is not only not suitable as a medium of instruction, but has characteristics derived from the circumstances in which it was invented which reflect now outmoded concepts of the relationship between indigenous inhabitants and immigrant groups.
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> (quoted from Hall 1954:85)

This pronouncement sparked off a heated debate[3] in Australia as well as New Guinea. Though it did little to change the course of events with regard to NGP, the government nevertheless saw itself compelled

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[1] For more details about the use of NGP in these contexts the following articles can be referred to: Bell (1971 and 1977) for NGP in the Army, L.R. Healey (1977) for NGP in medical training, and Wolfers (1971:415-9) for general information on NGP's functional expansion.

[2] The strongest influence of NGP in Papua can be felt in the Port Moresby area (in 1966, 28% of the population of the Central Province already had a knowledge of NGP) but it is also increasingly used in the areas adjacent to the former Trust Territory of New Guinea. No detailed study of the exact impact of NGP in the area of former Papua has been made as yet.

[3] One of the main opponents was French (1953:60). The views of NGP's opponents are discussed by Hall (1955a).

to withdraw its support in a number of areas, ceasing NGP publications and removing it from the syllabus of government schools. Moreover,

> ... since the mid-1950's, the Territory's Administration has refused assistance to mission schools ... that do not teach in English. Neo-Melanesian is not used as a medium of instruction, much less is it taught as a school subject in its own right in Administration and Administration-assisted schools.
>
> (Wolfers 1971:414)

Official opposition against NGP was reinforced by opinions such as those of an indigenous member of the Legislative Assembly, Mr Dickson, who explained in 1954: "I just want to say here how important it is for us to see that a native is well developed, educating him in the same manner as a European is educated." (quoted from Smith 1969:19). A report presented by Roscoe to the Royal Institute of Public Administration in 1959 noted the widespread desire among the indigenous population to get English education for their children. The result of these and many similar pressures was the ban of the use of non-vernacular languages in education (a move directed against NGP) by the Department of Education in 1959 and further censures against NGP in the subsequent years. A more detailed account of these events is given by Smith (1969:19f).

The new government policies, particularly concerning education, resulted in a rapid increase in school leavers with at least a basic knowledge of English, and a much less dramatic increase in the number of students in high school and tertiary institutions with a good knowledge of this language. By 1966 about 13% of the total population of Papua New Guinea claimed to possess a knowledge of English, as against 36% for NGP. The 1971 census figures show a further increase in the number of English speakers and one could thus argue that the language policies of the Australian administration have attained some degree of success.[1]

However, whilst English was promoted in the educational sector, the role of NGP in other sectors of colonial administration, and, later, under self-government, remained unchallenged. NGP was used extensively in the process of democratisation and the first democratically elected government adopted NGP as its principal language: 89% of the members elected to the House of Assembly in 1964 spoke NGP, as

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[1] Thus Mihalic (1969:31) writes:

> A World Bank survey recently showed that by 1970 New Guinea will be graduating a total of 17,900 English-speaking pupils a year. At that rate a substantial part of the population will soon become literate in English.

against 63% who spoke English. In subsequent years NGP was adopted increasingly as the language for the transactions of the Assembly. Noel (1975:78) reports that the approximate percentage of transactions in the House carried out in NGP increased from about 40% in the 1964-1968 legislature to 60% for the 1968-1972 period, reaching about 95% by 1973. The fact that NGP was one of the official languages of the House, and moreover the most frequently used, underlines its importance as a vehicle of national aspirations and solidarity (cf. Hull 1968:22-5).

It seems that this adoption of NGP as the language of politics signalled a reversal in the previously antagonistic attitudes of the administration. It also seems that the original conflict between 'Pidgin English' and 'Proper English' has been largely resolved by accepting and officially supporting a view which recognises the domains of these two languages as complementary rather than mutually exclusive.[1]

Self-government and independence of Papua New Guinea have meant a return to more relaxed attitudes towards the question of language in education. Though no binding policies have been passed yet, the general picture is that the choice of language in education is a question which must be solved by individual communities rather than by centralised decrees. NGP has again become accepted as one of the possible means of educating the young of the new nation.

The full history of language policies during this period remains to be written, but it is hoped that this outline has indicated some of the outstanding motifs underlying them as well as some of their most important consequences.

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[1] This view has also been subscribed to by a number of writers including Litteral (1975:158):

> The communicative function of Pidgin is largely complementary to that of English. Whereas English functions primarily as the code for international-national network within PNG, Pidgin functions mainly in national and regional networks. As a national language it serves as an intermediary between the international communicative network and the local network and provides vertical communications between the governing and the governed, the more-educated and the less-educated. It is largely through Pidgin that government departments communicate and implement their policies in the local areas. Likewise, much of the information about the outside world, science, medicine, or theology that has reached the village level has been transmitted first via Pidgin, then via the vernacular.

3.3.6.4. Mission Attitudes and Policies

The attitudes and policies of the numerous mission bodies have changed considerably in the years after the War and NGP has become accepted as the most important mission language not only by the Catholic missions who previously used NGP but also by the Lutherans in northern and central New Guinea.

The readiness of the missions to adopt NGP is the result of two principal factors, the first being that its increased linguistic sophistication made it a satisfactory means of communicating on virtually all levels of discourse. The second factor was the need to communicate with rapidly growing urban communities who had adopted NGP as their language. Added to this was the geographical expansion of mission activities.

Since recent mission policies have been well documented by writers such as Mihalic (1969 and 1977), Renck (1977) and Neuendorf (1977), only a brief outline of the main events will be given.

The most important of these events was the decision by the Lutheran churches to partially abandon their vernacular policy in favour of NGP, a language which they had previously shunned, despite the fact that Lutheran missionaries had been using it unofficially before that date. Neuendorf (1977) states that today: "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea really is the main church carrying out teaching IN the Pidgin language." Also of great importance was the development of a large body of literature in NGP, with agencies such as Kristen Pres of Madang and Wirui Pres of Wewak prominent in production. The translation of the New Testament in 1969 - an effort involving most denominations - the establishment of *Wantok* newspaper which claims a readership of about 50,000 and the growing number of booklets dealing with technical and educational topics must be regarded as important contributions to the spread of literacy in this language.

Literacy in NGP was also promoted by the system of 'Pidgin schools' for both adults and children adopted by all major missions. Because of the negative government attitudes towards education in NGP, these schools have remained very elementary, village-oriented centres of education. However, their presence helped to fulfil universal demand for educational facilities which could not be met by English-medium government schools. Apart from promoting literacy in NGP these schools also contributed to the spread of a standardised orthography and grammar based on the Madang variety of NGP which has become the basis for mission work in this language.

At present the future of mission policies, in particular educational policies, is not clear. It appears that an independent Papua New Guinea will make efforts to reduce the autonomy and associated uncontrolled power of the missions, but it also appears likely that many of the language policies adopted by the missions in the years after World War II will be continued, since they have proved the viability of NGP as a means of relatively inexpensive mass education. The fact that most political representatives attended mission schools may well heighten support for their NGP policies.

3.3.6.5. Indigenous Attitudes Towards NGP

The conflicting tendencies found in government policies towards NGP are also reflected in the attitudes to the indigenous population, with strong bodies of opinion both for and against the continued use and functional expansion of NGP. These conflicting attitudes are related to the disintegration of a rigid colonial society and the possibility of upwards social mobility for many Papua New Guineans. Whilst NGP was sufficient to get ahead in colonial society, English may well be the future key to a share in the opportunities offered by post-colonial society.

Thus, it is found that proficiency in English by and large coincides with the incipient social stratification in post-colonial society. The growing awareness that English leads to membership of the elite has sparked off some opposition to NGP, though its extent should not be overestimated. Thus, many parents consider English to be the only key to wealth and economic progress and insist on their children attending English rather than pidgin schools. Such hopes are frequently disappointed[1] and the number of school-leavers for which the knowledge of English is almost completely irrelevant is considerable, a fact which is being increasingly realised.

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[1] Wurm (1969:40) has commented on this attitude as follows:

> There is no doubt that English has at present the highest prestige value of all the languages in Australian New Guinea, and many of the indigenes are very keen indeed to become acquainted with it. They consider its knowledge as the key to their advancement to the level of the Europeans with regard to the betterment of their position in economic and other matters. There is quite some measure of truth in this assumption, though one may occasionally wonder whether or not the indigenes may tend to somewhat overrate the importance and advantage of the knowledge of English on their part, and one may sometimes be left to wonder what their reaction may be when the realisation may start sinking home with them that the knowledge of English is only one, though important, step towards the fulfilment of their hopes.

For most people in the village, however, pragmatic considerations are all-important. For them NGP provides the only link with the outside world and the only means of access to new ideas. The majority of the rural people recognise it as the most important instrument in reducing the amount of fighting and fear found in precolonial society. Their appreciation of NGP is often paired with a fear of being left behind, should English take over. The development of highly anglicised varieties of NGP constitutes a real problem for these people.[1]

Opposition to NGP was also commonly found until recently among more educated Papua New Guineans. The prejudices of certain colonial administrators and, in particular, teachers, are perpetuated by a fairly large number of members of this group. The continued indoctrination of an English-biased education has led to an over-estimation of the potentials of this language.

Such attitudes are beginning to give way to the realisation that English is a language foreign to Papua New Guinea and that its uncritical acceptance would perpetuate the cultural colonialism which goes hand in hand with purely English-oriented language and education policies. The efforts by the pre- and post-independence governments to find their own way of dealing with the country's problems and the growing suspicion of foreign influences have promoted a strong feeling among many members of the educated group that national identity and solidarity is best promoted through the medium of NGP. Wolfers (1971: 418) remarks that these attitudes became noticeable around 1966:

> The cultural ethos that one inescapably associates with it has come too. In fact, some extremely fluent, if politically-minded, English-speakers use Neo-Melanesian in order to create a special sort of bond with their less sophisticated friends, even from their own home areas. The language, then, is used as a sort of proto-nationalistic means of distinguishing New Guineans from nearby Europeans, and, less frequently, Papuans. It enables the urban sophisticate and the illiterate labourer in town to converse as linguistic equals.

More recently, the use of NGP as a vehicle for national aspirations has been strongly advocated by Noel (1975). Noel regards NGP as a workable alternative to English and as a valuable aid in overcoming social patterns developed during the colonial period:

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[1] This fear finds expression in a number of readers' letters to *Wantok* newspaper, and has also been observed by the present author during fieldwork in the more remote areas of the Sepik Provinces.

> For Papua New Guinea to have Pidgin as a national language is not only for identification purposes but also as an affirmation of the right and capacity of:
> a) the black people to determine their future and to achieve equality in the modern world
> b) the legitimacy of Pidgin in the development of the country as a whole.
>
> (Noel 1975:82)

Confirmation of NGP's viability as a language of international relations is contained in the following news item:

> Shortly before he met the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Fukuda, a few days ago, Mr Somare surprised Japanese officials by requesting a three-way interpretation. When the talks got underway, Mr Somare, whose English is excellent, spoke in pidgin. The secretary for Foreign Relations, Mr Tony Siaguru, translated the pidgin into English and this in turn was translated for Mr Fukuda by the Japanese interpreter. A Papua New Guinea official said later Mr Somare believed he should use pidgin because he could express his thoughts better.
>
> (*Post Courier* 14 December 1977)

Papua New Guineans are also becoming critical of Europeans who do not have a reasonable mastery of the language. This feeling has led to the demand that all prospective new citizens of Papua New Guinea should have a good command of NGP or Hiri Motu. It appears that, by and large, attitudes towards language in post-colonial Papua New Guinea are pragmatic and tolerant. Multilingualism has always been part of life and NGP is accepted as one of the languages in a multilingual society.[1]

Finally, the attitudes towards the linguistic changes in NGP in recent years need to be mentioned. The development of heavily anglicised varieties of NGP since World War II appears to be related, among other factors, to certain attitudes towards language in general. First, there has been little insistence on fixed lexical and phonological norms in NGP, with inter-individual variation being readily accepted. Second, the presence of English as a prestige language had led to both conscious and unconscious efforts to 'improve' NGP on the model of English.

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[1] Brash (1971:12-3) has pointed out that the failure of the Australian expatriates to understand the language situation in Papua New Guinea has been their insistance that one language should be promoted to the exclusion of others, disregarding the long tradition of peaceful multilingualism in this country.

3.3.7. *POLICIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS NGP: SUMMARY*

The aim of this subchapter has been to elucidate the human factor in the socio-historical setting of NGP. The history of policies and attitudes is one of great complexity, caused by the presence, throughout NGP's history, of conflicting and opposing groups. Among these, the conflict between official language policies promoting the language of the mother country (German and subsequently English) and non-official attitudes promoting NGP is the outstanding feature. Official government policies failed for two reasons, first because of a lack of funds and second because of the lack of determination in the face of strong opposition. The only instance of successful government policy is the promotion of English in the educational system after World War II.

NGP's firm role in Papua New Guinean society is seen as resulting from the attitudes of various non-official groups, most important its adoption by the indigenous population as a territory-wide lingua franca and an expression of solidarity. The white colonialists who favoured NGP because it guaranteed non-intimacy whilst allowing the exercise of social control and the various mission bodies who adopted it as their lingua franca for reasons of solidarity and social control were also significant groups.

The history of attitudes and policies demonstrates that the continued viability of NGP reflects the wishes and aspirations of those groups who are active speakers of the language and not the policies of outside governments.

3.4. VARIETIES OF PRESENT-DAY NGP

3.4.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The two preceding subchapters have dealt with developments pertinent to the external setting of NGP. The aim of the present subchapter is to examine how these developments are reflected synchronically in the regional and social varieties of the language, and what social forces are responsible for its linguistic differentiation. The main stress will be put on inter-individual variation systems rather than intra-individual variability, though some remarks on the latter point will also be made.

To facilitate the discussion, a number of types of variants have been postulated; the reasons for this approach have been outlined in Chapters 1 and 2.

The discussion of present-day variants will be subdivided into:

i) social varieties (3.4.2.)
ii) regional varieties (3.4.3.)
iii) special registers of NGP (3.4.4.)
iv) creolised NGP (3.4.5.)

3.4.2. *SOCIAL VARIETIES OF NGP AND THEIR SETTING*

3.4.2.1. Introduction

The existence of socially conditioned variation of NGP has received little attention until recently, partly because the development of more pronounced social varieties is a very recent phenomenon, partly because of the preoccupation of descriptive linguists with idealised abstract grammars and their reluctance to acknowledge social data as of relevance to linguistic description.

The first writer to draw attention to the coexistence of a number of socially defined variants of NGP was Laycock (1969:12):

> The question of levels is another matter. On the one hand, we have extremely anglicised Pidgin of the average European resident in New Guinea, of the Pidgin newspapers, and of some partly-educated indigenes. At the other extreme there are various broken forms of Pidgin, spoken by natives in newly developed areas who have an insufficient command of the language, and in whose speech considerable contamination from their own linguistic backgrounds can be recognised. There are many gradations between these two forms.

In 1973 the present author presented a paper at the Pidgin Conference in Port Moresby in which the main types of NGP - which incidentally coincide with the folk classification currently used by speakers of this language - were analysed and related to the social setting of the respective varieties (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975e). The terms,[1] which have become widely accepted as labels for the four principal social varieties of NGP, are Tok Masta (heavily anglicised and imperfectly mastered NGP spoken by expatriates), Bush Pidgin (rudimentary varieties

[1] The ability to distinguish between these varieties can be regarded as a direct reflection of the increased awareness of the norms of NGP among its speakers. The ability to draw such distinctions is a fairly recent phenomenon. Thus, Mead (1956: 276) refers to "men who have been away at work for a long time and are able to make fine distinctions between Neo-Melanesian as the European speaks it and Neo-Melanesian as spoken among themselves." Apart from the name tok masta there are as yet no consistent lexical items in NGP to refer to the various social varieties, and even tok masta is sometimes referred to as Pisin Inglis. The author has found the descriptive phrases tok pisin bilong taun 'Urban Pidgin', tok pisin bilong bus 'Rural or Bush Pidgin', and the terms nambawan tok pisin 'Pidgin spoken by very old people, learnt in German times', nambatu tok pisin 'NGP learnt in rural environments', and nambatri tok pisin 'Urban, anglicised Pidgin'. The rudimentary varieties spoken in bush areas are often referred to as Tok Pisin bilong ol kanaka.

spoken in very remote areas), Rural Pidgin (fluent but not anglicised variety), and Urban Pidgin (heavily and, typically unsystematically, anglicised varieties of NGP).

3.4.2.2. Factors Determining Sociolectal Diversification

The development of NGP sociolects in recent years is closely linked with the breaking down of the social barriers and rigid stratification in colonial society and its replacement by a pluralistic society with increased opportunities for upward social mobility. Thus, the factors discussed here tend to correlate with a speaker's position on the social scale. The author will discuss those which appear to have most influence on the development of sociolects.

The first such factor is a **speaker's race**. For a long time the social status of a person in New Guinea has been closely associated with his racial origin. As a rule, white expatriates had only superficial contact with the indigenous population, often limited to the giving of orders in the domestic or plantation context. For this purpose a special restricted variety of broken English, referred to as Tok Masta by Papua New Guineans, was used. Its widespread use, particularly in the pre-war years, reflects the desire of expatriates to maintain their status as a closed group, keeping communication with members of other racial groups to a minimum. However, not all expatriates can be classified as Tok Masta speakers, as their attitudes and professional status also determine their competence in NGP. The proficiency of other racial groups, such as the mixed race population and the Chinese, does not differ much from that of the indigenous population, reflecting the closer contacts between these groups.

A second factor is that of **urbanisation**, since, whilst for the average expatriate a good command of NGP is not so necessary in the bigger urban settlements, for the Papua New Guinean it is essential. Whereas the towns provide the optimum opportunity for English speaking expatriates to meet other speakers of English,[1] the opposite is true for the New Guinean villager. His vernacular is hardly spoken outside his small wantok community and he must therefore use NGP to discuss all topics. Thus, town life leads to both a functional extension in the use of NGP and also to some significant linguistic changes. The large urban centres of Papua New Guinea are the main catalysts of a

[1] English as spoken by expatriates in Papua New Guinea can be regarded as a variety of Australian English. The influence of NGP and other local languages on this variety of English has been dealt with by Wolfers (1969:52-64).

new way of life, characterised by the readiness to give up traditional values in favour of imported European ideas and goods. The desire to borrow from white culture is reflected in NGP in the borrowing of English words referring to new items and concepts as well as the replacement of established Pidgin expressions with more prestigious English-derived ones. This trend is enhanced by the readily available education in English and the breakdown of the rigid class and race distinctions of old colonial society. Thus a new anglicised variety called Urban Pidgin has developed in the towns, and it is likely that an NGP-English continuum will start there also (cf. Bickerton 1975a: 23ff).

Thus, one can draw an environmental continuum, ranging from the towns to the very isolated areas in the bush, along both linguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions.[1] On the linguistic side, an increase in remoteness from the main urban centres is accompanied by a decrease in contact with English. On the sociolinguistic side, a decrease in contact with towns and administration centres is paralleled by a decrease in the range of functions of NGP. In the very remote areas the sole use of NGP is in occasional contacts with visiting patrols from outside.

The degree of proximity to urban centres is also connected with a third factor relevant to the development of sociolects of NGP, namely the age at which NGP is learned. This factor is relevant not only to the distinction between Bush Pidgin on the one hand and Rural and Urban Pidgin on the other, but also to that between first language (creolised) and second language NGP. However, because of the important status of creolisation, this question will be dealt with in a separate section (cf. 3.4.5.).

With regard to the age of learning NGP, one is obviously dealing with a continuum. However, since the ability to learn a language is significantly related to certain stages in human biological development, one can distinguish three main categories of learners:

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[1] The following quotation (Wedgwood 1954:784) suggests that this continuum between urban and bush varieties of NGP is not a recent phenomenon:

> Today there can be few villages within those parts under full government control (that is throughout the major part of the Trust Territory) where at least one or two men cannot speak Pidgin fluently; while in those villages which are situated near a township such as Rabaul or Lae, or near a centre of business such as a large plantation, one finds that usually even the children are bilingual, and use Pidgin as well as their mother tongue in their play together.

i) NGP is learnt before the age of six
ii) NGP is learnt before the age of twelve
iii) NGP is learnt after the age of twelve.

Again, these three categories of learners can be correlated with two other factors of significance in the development of sociolects, namely the locality and mode of transmission of NGP. With regard to **locality**, category i) is most typically associated with children growing up in or near urban centres. They generally learn NGP as their first language and may have little or no knowledge of their parents' first language. However, under exceptional circumstances, type i) is also found in rural areas.

Category ii) can be found in areas not directly adjacent to towns but having easy access to them by means of roads or waterways. A decrease in the intensity of contact with urban areas is reflected in an increase in learning age for NGP. The way of life in these localities remains basically defined by traditional values, though most of the inhabitants would have visited the nearest town. Exposure to English is minimal in everyday life, though younger children would acquire a limited knowledge of English in primary school. Learners in category iii) are found in areas remote from centres of commercial and administrative activities with minimal contact with the outside world. NGP is learnt typically by those who leave the village to engage in work on the coastal plantations or in the towns.

The age at which NGP is learnt also correlates with the **mode of transmission**. For those who learn NGP before the age of six, the parents and peer groups are the main models of language behaviour. Category ii) learners are much less exposed to NGP in their home environment, however, though a passive knowledge of some NGP may be acquired fairly early. School and contact with groups from outside the village provide the main stimuli for learning NGP. The desire to become involved with life outside the village may reinforce their eagerness to acquire a better knowledge of this language. Outsiders instrumental in promoting the use of NGP are the missions, health and agricultural authorities and administrative officers, in that order. In contrast with category i), category ii) are clearly second language learners and the use of NGP is restricted to a limited number of contexts.

In the case of category iii) opportunities to learn and use NGP at village level are restricted. It is learnt from outsiders, sometimes visiting patrol officers or missionaries, but more typically on the

plantations or in prison. Its gradual spread in some parts of the Western Province of Papua, for instance, is largely due to the fact that villagers in newly opened areas were sent to prisons[1] in the NGP speaking Southern Highlands rather than to Hiri Motu speaking Daru. Opportunities to use NGP and to get feedback from other speakers are very limited in remote areas, and the pressure to conform to linguistic norms is low.

The **age of an NGP speaker** is also correlated with the type of NGP which he speaks. Thus, in a community in which children learn NGP as their first language there may be middle-aged or old members who have learnt it very differently. This situation reflects the fact that the linguistic history of NGP is repeated again and again as new areas are exposed to it and the importance of the traditional vernaculars in some of the old contact areas declines. Linguistic phenomena observed in very old people in the established NGP speaking areas are very similar to those characteristic of that spoken by the young in recently opened up areas.

NGP also differs with regard to **speaker's sex** since, for a long time, it has been associated with male activities. Women were typically excluded from the male subculture which developed on the coastal plantations and were supposed to stay at home and follow traditional patterns of life. Though women have invariably learnt NGP after an extended period of cultural contact, they are often not expected to use it and therefore have relatively little practice. An exception are those women who received some mission education, where the taboo surrounding the use of NGP by females was not enforced. However, women in rural communities are generally less proficient in NGP than men,[2] and the number of older women who neither speak nor know NGP is significantly higher than that of men. So far, little attention has been paid to linguistic aspects of women's speech in NGP, due to both the assumption that sex differences in speech are unimportant and the fact that male fieldworkers have trouble finding suitable female informants.

A further factor, **the professional status of speakers**, affects both the number of contexts in which they use NGP and their degree of contact with English. Those who remain associated with traditional village activities make least use of NGP, whereas certain professionals,

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[1] More details about the role of prisons can be found in Wedgwood (1954:784 fn.6).

[2] Reed (1943:285) associates the proficiency of women in NGP with their status in society. He compares the limited knowledge of NGP among the closely guarded Iatmul women with the superior knowledge of women from the Grass Country bordering on the Middle Sepik who have been prostituted by their husbands for generations.

such as plantation workers, policemen and staff on mission stations or in light urban industries, use NGP almost exclusively. Very often these professions are associated with a high degree of regional mobility resulting in the use of a regionally unmarked variety of NGP. Certain professions which have not been open to New Guineans in the past require some knowledge of English and, if NGP is used to discuss topics in such fields, its lexicon tends to be heavily influenced by English.

The factor of education is closely related to a number of other social parameters and, though its precise influence on NGP is not clear, it appears that two kinds of educational institutions provide important stimuli for a speaker's performance. Thus, the use of a conservative Rural Pidgin is favoured by those who receive their education in the mission-run Pidgin Schools.[1] In these schools formal tuition in NGP is part of the syllabus and the conservative norms of language preferred by the missions serve as the model of linguistic performance.

In contrast, the English-biased education system, favoured by most government schools until very recently, contributes to both a negative attitude towards Rural Pidgin and to the desire to bring one's linguistic performance closer to English. A knowledge of school English also encourages the tendency to equate NGP words with their English source forms and the belief that the true meaning and pronunciation of such forms is that found in English.

In conclusion it appears that NGP's being a second language for the majority of its users together with their increased social diversification, has caused the absence of a single stable norm in this language and created a situation where a number of social forces have come to determine the linguistic performance of groups of speakers. The factors discussed here in isolation must be seen as being interrelated in a number of ways, such as to account for types of NGP found along the diachronic and synchronic social dimensions.

3.4.2.3. Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin, Urban Pidgin, Rural Pidgin

In discussing the four principal social varieties of NGP the author will first deal with the marginal ones of Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin. Their marginality manifests itself in their relatively small number

[1] A comprehensive account of Pidgin Schools in one area of Papua New Guinea is contained in Zinkel (1977). Remarks on the role of NGP in bilingual education are also found in Litteral (1974:47-52).

of speakers, in their being suited to a very restricted number of situational contexts and in their lack of structural complexity and stability. Speakers of these varieties are typically only marginally involved in Papua New Guinean affairs.

Thus, for speakers of Bush Pidgin, their interest in politics is confined to the rather narrow boundaries of their villages, whereas the white expatriates are often more interested in the politics of their home country than those of Papua New Guinea. In both cases there is limited involvement with the development and problems of the country and its inhabitants. The main difference between these two varieties is that Tok Masta appears to be a very persistent phenomenon, whereas Bush Pidgin is often just a transitional stage. This reflects the fact that speakers of Tok Masta are usually not interested in better communication with the bulk of the population, whereas the acquisition of even a substandard variety of NGP by people in the bush tends to express their desire for participation in outside events.

An important criterion for distinguishing these four varieties of NGP is that of speech community. It appears that Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin are not embedded into genuine speech communities but constitute collections of idolects, i.e. individual solutions to the problems of cross-linguistic communication. Individual norms are also strongly present in Urban Pidgin, though there are signs of the development of new social norms. Rural Pidgin is distinguished from the other varieties by its socially sanctioned norms of grammar and the stability of its speech community.

3.4.2.3.1. *Tok Masta*

Tok Masta is the name given by Papua New Guineans to the domestic jargon used by the majority of expatriates in dealing with their indigenous employees or servants. Functionally, it is restricted to the giving of orders and instructions in this narrow field of discourse. Its most outstanding structural property is instability, stemming from the assumption of its speakers that NGP is just English foreigner-talk (Ferguson 1975). Because of the many *ad hoc* simplifications made by its users it is a difficult 'language' to follow, since, in order to understand it, one has to know both the grammar of English and the set of simplificatory rules used by the Tok Masta speaker. Therefore, in spite of the fact that it is used in fairly limited and almost self-explanatory contexts, such as the domestic or plantation context, the number of misunderstandings and frictions between 'masta' and servants is high (cf. Hall 1955a:17-9).

Wedgwood's characterisation (1954:784) is representative of the critical remarks on Tok Masta:[1]

> Those who imagine that, by speaking a broken form of English, liberally besprinkled with 'em' and reduplication, and ignoring all syntax, they are speaking New Guinea Pidgin, are woefully astray. In fact I have met more than one European in the territory whose invectives against the 'stupidity' of native employees would more rightly have been directed against his or her own failure to speak Pidgin correctly.

In spite of the fact that Tok Masta is an unsatisfactory means of communication across linguistic and racial boundaries, it was the only form of NGP known to most expatriates until recently. Bell (1971:38) states: "A rough and hopeful guess is that one in fifty can understand Pidgin as spoken by the indigenes to each other." It has been said by way of excuse that most whites were unaware of the differences between broken English and real NGP and that the colonial administration was unwilling to provide teaching materials from which new settlers could acquire a knowledge of the language. However, the bulk of the blame has to be given to the expatriates who simply could not be bothered to find out anything about NGP, an attitude which Hall (1955a:18) has described as "the unwillingness of the native speaker of English to make the necessary effort to understand what Pidgin is really about." This opinion is shared by most observers and has been expressed more recently by Brouwer in a letter to the *Post Courier* (Moresby 9 July 1973): "I cannot help but see the many evidences of bad Pidgin as used by some expatriates as a symptom of their condescending attitude towards people in this country."

The survival of pidgin languages is dependent on the social situation which called them into being. Applying this principle to Tok Masta, it can be stated that the colonial society in which this bastardised variety of speech could thrive is something of the past. With Papua New Guinea having achieved independence, there is little room for Tok Masta. Most of those expatriates who have opted to stay on after independence are now making serious efforts to acquire a knowledge of proper NGP.

In conclusion, mention must be made of a special variety of European Pidgin, that referred to earlier as Kiap Pidgin, typically spoken by white patrol officers. Kiap Pidgin[2] differs from Rural

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[1] Further notes on Tok Masta can be found in the writings of Hogbin (1939:163), Mead (1956:225), Laycock (1970d:110-1), and Freyberg (1975:31).

[2] NGP was spread by both the white kiaps and their local policemen. It is not quite clear to what degree the policemen's NGP was influenced by the anglicised variety spoken by their superiors.

Pidgin mainly in that both its phonology and lexicon are more closely related to English. Since the main function of Kiap Pidgin is to give orders, the production of speech intelligible to its recipients is of prime importance. The author has observed the inability of a number of patrol officers to follow fluent observations among members of the native population.

It is difficult to make generalisations about Kiap Pidgin, since some experienced patrol officers are fluent speakers of Rural Pidgin rather than of Tok Masta. However, the relatively deviant and anglicised NGP spoken by others may have been a factor in the spread of more anglicised varieties of NGP into areas newly opened up by the Australian administration.

3.4.2.3.2. *Bush Pidgin*

Bush Pidgin is the name given to those varieties found in remote areas of Papua New Guinea, which have usually come in contact with the administration only very recently. Poor communication with the outside world, general conservatism and limited learning facilities create the climate in which Bush Pidgin survives. There is very little incentive to learn NGP, especially for the older generation and women. When spoken, Bush Pidgin is characterised by a deviant sound system, simple syntax and a limited vocabulary. This goes hand in hand with poor understanding and misinterpretation of the pidgin spoken by more fluent speakers. Due to the rapid development of the Highlands and other areas in the remote interior, these varieties are widespread.

However, it must be stressed that Bush Pidgin is a transitional phenomenon, and that increased contact with the outside world, such as results from the system of migrant labour and improvements in infrastructure, promotes a gradual shift towards standard NGP with its nationally accepted norms of grammar. A case history reported by Salisbury (1967:46) illustrates this point whilst also drawing attention to the close parallels between Bush Pidgin and the unstable jargons found in the New Guinea area towards the end of the last century:

> The Pidgin recorded before 1881 is of simple sentences only and is not entirely reliably recorded, yet the variety of forms used does suggest a lack of standardisation. Among the Siane of the Eastern Highlands in 1952 I observed the change from there being only one or two Pidgin speakers in each village of two hundred, to there being twenty or more. In the first situation each speaker has idiosyncracies and gets away

> with unstandard ("bad") Pidgin as no one can check him, and his idiosyncrasies may be copied. With twenty speakers idiosyncrasies are scorned and standardisation is the rule. By 1961 a majority of Siane spoke Pidgin and used it among themselves as the most efficient means of communication on certain topics. I would interpret the 1881 New Britain situation as similar to the Siane situation in 1952, and would expect standardisation to have occurred rapidly after.

The parallelisms between Bush Pidgin and early Jargon English are manifested mainly in the similarities of the contact situations. Bush Pidgin is spoken almost exclusively in infrequent contacts with visiting patrols, its speakers are a handful of men, including the village chiefs and officials such as luluais and tultuls, with children and women typically being unable to speak it. Its principal function is to allow communication on a small range of topics such as is needed in connection with visits from outside.

With administrative control stretching over the entire area of Papua New Guinea and with regular broadcasts in NGP reaching even remote areas, Bush Pidgin is now being replaced by more accepted standard varieties.

3.4.2.3.3. *Urban Pidgin*

Urban Pidgin describes the variety that is spoken not only by the inhabitants of urban areas but also by people who, as a result of their education and professional status, have had contact with the European way of thinking and are engaged in activities outside the traditional sphere. A school teacher in a rural area or a doctor on patrol in a remote bush area would nevertheless be classified as speakers of Urban Pidgin. As with Bush Pidgin and Tok Masta the grammar and lexicon of Urban Pidgin are characterised by the absence of stable norms and resulting intra-individual and inter-individual variations. The instability of Urban Pidgin results from attempts by individual speakers to approximate - by making shifts in phonology, grammar or lexicon - the prestige language of English. Similar unsystematic shifts in the direction of a superimposed target language have been noted in a number of other pidgins and creoles, for instance by Orjala (1975) in a recent discussion of Haitian Creole.

These shifts appear to be made mainly because the anglicised varieties of NGP are thought of as enhancing their speakers' prestige, with the elaborate English forms showing a speaker's high educational status. However, this is not the only reason, others springing from the relative distance of many urban inhabitants from the linguistically more conservative rural areas and, thus, the norms of NGP, their

continued exposure to English in the urban context and the need for new expressions to cope with the technological and social conditions of the urban environment. It is possible that the rapid changes and instability found in Urban Pidgin reflect the drastic social changes of the last few years and that in an atmosphere of more stable social conditions Urban Pidgin will develop fixed norms. Such a development is already foreshadowed by the association of Urban Pidgin with group identity among urban dwellers. In other words, Urban Pidgin is in the process of becoming the language of a separate speech community.[1]

It has been noted by a number of writers, including the present author, that the development of a separate variety of Urban Pidgin may have undesirable effects on nationwide communication. Already, complaints have come from the rural areas that they are unable to cope with the massive amount of innovations entering NGP via its urban varieties:

> Sapos yumi mekim dispela pasin nogut, bai bihain tok pisin bilong bus na tok pisin bilong taun tupela i kamap narakain tru. Long bus bai ol toktok long tok pisin stret na long taun bai ol toktok long narapela tok pisin i pulap tru long ol wot bilong tok inglis. Olsem bai tok pisin i bruk nabaut nongut. Nongut yumi hambak nambaut na bagarapim tokples bilong yumi olsem.
>
> (letter written to *Wantok* newspaper in 1972 by Mr A. Yaliali from the Madang Province)
>
> If we follow this bad habit, then Pidgin of the bush and of the town will become quite different from one another. In the bush they will all talk genuine Pidgin and in the town they will all talk another Pidgin full of English words. Consequently Pidgin will be broken up into a number of varieties. We must not mess around and ruin the language of our country in this way.
>
> (author's translation to the above letter)

3.4.2.3.4. *Rural Pidgin*

The term 'Rural Pidgin' is applied to what may be called basilectal NGP, a fluent but unsophisticated variety, influenced by Melanesian rather than English grammar, which has become widely accepted as

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[1] Compare also the remarks made by Brash (1975:323) on the status of NGP in the urban centres of Papua New Guinea:

> Evidence of the operation of ethnogenesis within Papua New Guinea cities can be found in the growing number of original Pidgin expressions covering the shared experience of their black inhabitants. These range from descriptive terms referring to town occupations, the shortage of money, to sport, beer drinking, brawling, sexual adventure, card playing, the police, to whites, and so on, together with more complex terms which recognise the effects of city life on the individual.

providing the norms for 'good Pidgin'.[1] For this reason it has recently been used as the basis for the standardised NGP in the *Nupela Testamen* translation, *Wantok* newspaper, and many other publications prepared by mission bodies. It is the most stable of all NGP varieties, though it exhibits a certain degree of variability associated with geographical and social factors, in particular different age groups.

The social setting for this variety is the rural community, away from the big urban centres but not completely cut off from their influences. Western ideas, in particular those of the missions and the administration, are well known in these areas, though such influences have not drastically affected the traditional modes of behaviour.

NGP in this environment fulfills a number of functions, the most important being that of contact across tribal and language boundaries, such as in visits to markets in nearby patrol posts or towns. NGP is also used for the discussion of local politics in the Local Government Councils and has come to serve as a means of thought and self-expression in a number of non-traditional areas such as Western religion or local and national politics.[2]

Literacy in NGP is common as a result of mission education and a good knowledge of this language is found throughout the community with the exception perhaps of some old women and very old men. Members of the younger generation, in particular, are bound to adopt NGP as their language, often in preference to the local vernacular, whose communicative functions have become quite restricted in some areas, particularly those exhibiting strong linguistic compartimentalisation.

The reasons for the uniformity found in Rural Pidgin must be sought in the structure of colonial society and the modes of acquisition and spread it has created. The first point concerns the relative uniformity of the indigenous population within the colonial framework, i.e. their position of powerlessness *vis-à-vis* the expatriate administration, economy and missions, providing few incentives for upward social mobility. The second point refers to the plantation and migrant worker system in which a stable variety of NGP was learnt in a small number of focal areas such as the plantations around Rabaul.

Though self-government and independence have provided new opportunities for some members of the rural communities, the life-style in general

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[1] Cf. also Laycock (1969:12).

[2] This means that views stating that integrative-expressive functions are not fulfilled by pidgin languages (as expressed, for instance, by D.M. Smith 1972:50) have to be modified.

differs little from that found in colonial days and continues to be stable and conservative. Social as well as linguistic changes filter through from the more progressive towns at a very slow rate. As yet, the majority of Papua New Guinea's population is firmly rooted in its rural communities and it is to be expected that Rural Pidgin will remain the most important variety of NGP for a long time.

3.4.2.4. The Four Sociolects of NGP: Summary

Summarising the proposals made in this section the following table has been designed to illustrate the most outstanding sociolinguistic properties of each of the four main types of NGP:

	RURAL PIDGIN	URBAN PIDGIN	BUSH PIDGIN	TOK MASTA
MAIN LINGUISTIC PROPERTIES	socially sanctioned stable grammar, Melanesian rather than English	stable syntax but relaxation of lexical and phonological norms	collection of idiolectal jargons but approaching Rural Pidgin which is regarded as target language	broken English with no socially sanctioned grammar but based on widely known conventions
PRINCIPAL FUNCTIONS	communication across tribal boundaries, discussion of non-traditional concepts	often used as principal language, enhances speaker's prestige, solidarity, upward social mobility	establishment of limited contacts with outside groups	giving orders, maintaining non-intimacy with indigenous groups
LOCALITIES WHERE SPOKEN	areas outside urban centres which have been under government control for considerable time	urban centres, government stations, high-schools, colleges	remote areas, inaccessible by road transport; contact with administration or mission only recent	mainly in urban areas, to a lesser degree on plantations and patrol posts
OCCUPATION OF SPEAKERS	traditional occupations, temporary employment on plantations or mines or as domestic servants	occupations connected with urban economy or non-traditional education	traditional occupations	expatriate housewives, higher ranks of colonial administration, business
LEARNING AGE	before twelve, exact age depending on NGP's institutionalisation and proximity of town	typically learnt before the age of six, often as first language	after twelve; often only after the age of eighteen depending on degree of remoteness	learnt by adults
STATUS *VIS-À-VIS* ENGLISH AND VERNACULARS	relatively uninfluenced by both English and local vernacular	English regarded as target language, often in diglossic relationship	heavy substratum influence from local languages	a register of English rather than NGP
NOTES ON SPEAKERS	members of the indigenous population, some expatriates, particularly missionaries and kiaps	westernised indigenes, town dwellers	indigenous non-westernised groups	expatriates, mainly short-term residents

3.4.3. *REGIONAL VARIETIES OF NGP*

3.4.3.1. Introduction

The aim of this section is to present observations on the causes and the extent of regional variation in NGP, pointing out what factors have contributed to the development of certain linguistic properties in geographically restricted areas. These factors are typically related to social factors and the author believes that language geography without regard to social circumstances will not promote an understanding of the nature of regional variation in NGP.[1]

Discussion of regional variation has been restricted to occasional remarks, the only attempt to deal with this question in more detail being that of Mühlhäusler (1977b). The first comment was made by Friederici (1911:95) who simply mentions that "pidgin is a living language that has dialects". Other remarks are of similar brevity. Wedgwood (1954:785) observes:

> So live a language is Pidgin that already minor dialectal variations have been observed within the Trust Territory. They are mainly variations in the vocabulary, the result of adopting certain words from local vernaculars. The differences are, however, so slight that a Pidgin-speaker from say the Middle Sepik can converse freely with one from South Bougainville.

Similarly, Wolfers (1971:413) states: "Its vocabulary, its special expressions, even its grammatical structure, vary quite widely from place to place throughout the territory."

Using different criteria, the question of regional varieties of NGP can receive a number of possible answers. Several writers have raised the question of the relationship of NGP to other Pacific varieties of Pidgin English, for instance Turner: "New Guinea Pidgin, or Neo-Melanesian, is a regional variety of a large group of pidgin languages spread by traders through the Pacific." (Turner 1966:203).

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[1] The idea that social and regional variation are closely linked has been expressed recently by Brash (1975:322):

> Pidgin's growth has been more rapid in some areas than others, and it now contains different ethnically, socially and occupationally-based dialects. As with English, no one individual could fully command all of them. A move from Rabaul to Madang, or from a plantation to a mission station, involves a move between significantly different dialects; but, as with English dialects, there is usually sufficient overlap between them to enable communication to continue. The various dialects could conceivably be arranged along ethnic, social, and occupational axes, each with the most commonly spoken dialect as its median, the other dialects ranging away towards more English-influenced speech on the one side, and more independent folk speech on the other.

However, the present author feels that lexicostatistic considerations and geographic proximity alone are of secondary importance in defining a regional variety. Instead it is regarded as essential to establish that a variety was at one stage included in the boundaries of a well-defined speech community. Thus, it is argued that the relationship between NGP and other varieties of Pidgin English spoken in the geographic area of Papua New Guinea, such as Kiwai Island Pidgin English or Papuan Pidgin English, is only very indirect, since these two pidgins developed in isolation from NGP.[1] On the other hand it seems justified, in the light of what is known about NGP's external development and on linguistic grounds, to call Samoan Plantation Pidgin (henceforth SPP) a regional variety of NGP which became severed from NGP at the beginning of World War I, since SPP and NGP at one stage constituted a single stabilised pidgin.

The differences between regional varieties of NGP will now be discussed in terms of the presence of a number of social and linguistic forces in different geographic areas.

3.4.3.2. Factors Determining Regional Variation

3.4.3.2.1. *Geographic Isolation and Proximity*

This factor, important in the differentiation of regional variants of conventional languages, appears to be of less importance in the case of pidgin languages such as NGP. The reason for this is that one of the main functions of NGP has always been that of an inter-regional lingua franca, an unwritten norm being that 'good' NGP is that variety which can be understood readily throughout the country.

The only instance in which quite pronounced geographic varieties have developed is in the case of SPP. With the strong links between the Samoan plantations and New Guinea severed after World War I, Pidgin English in these two localities developed along different lines. SPP lingered on in Samoa without expanding its functional domains or linguistic structure, whilst NGP developed into a viable and highly sophisticated lingua franca. SPP is of great importance for the linguist, however, since it can be regarded as a fossilised form of NGP as it was at the beginning of this century. It is also important in that a comparison between NGP and SPP offers a good example of the

[1] Since this dissertation was written, the author has made a detailed study of both the grammar of Papuan Pidgin English and the socio-historical circumstances that led to its rise and disappearance (Mühlhäusler 1978).

principles underlying the life-cycle of pidgin languages (Hall 1962: 151-6). SPP's becoming restricted to a small communicative niche on the one hand, and NGP's continued expansion on the other, must be regarded as the result of the social conditions in which these two distinct regional varieties developed. It was only when SPP was taken to New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago that it could develop from a restricted plantation pidgin into an extended pidgin serving as a means of communication over a wide range of topics.

In general, it can be argued that geographic isolation within Papua New Guinea is instrumental in slowing down the development of rudimentary forms of Bush Pidgin into standard Rural Pidgin rather than in promoting the development of new regional varieties.

3.4.3.2.2. *The Presence of Other Lingue Franche*

It has been mentioned in subsection 3.2.4.5. that Coastal Malay was the lingua franca of the New Guinea mainland until about the turn of this century. Since then its importance has declined rapidly, the only area in which it is still used being that part of the West Sepik Province bordering on Irian Jaya. Townsend (1968:54) claims that the vocabulary of NGP in the West Sepik Province contains a number of words of Malay origin not found elsewhere in the country. There are some indications that the NGP of former Coastal Malay speaking areas, particularly the remote ones, may have derived some of its syntactic peculiarities from a relexification of Malay. This hypothesis has not been investigated so far but it would be a project well worth undertaking.

It would also be worthwhile to make a case study of the transformation of a Hiri Motu speaking area into an NGP speaking area, though, because of the close structural similarity of these two pidgins, a study of relexification would possibly have to concentrate on the process rather than its result. Some borrowing of Hiri Motu words can be observed in areas where both pidgins are in currency, such as in Port Moresby.

A further example of contact with another pidgin having led to the development of a new regional variety of NGP occurred on Mussau Island. Though the author has not visited Mussau, he has reliable information (M. Ross, personal communication) that NGP spoken there exhibits a number of lexical and syntactic peculiarities resulting from the influence of Seventh Day Adventist missionaries from the Solomon Islands. It appears that both the relative isolation of Mussau Island

and the common belief of the people, which differs from that of neighbouring areas, have been contributing factors in this development. The observation that NGP spoken by Mussau Islanders is often unacceptable and sometimes unintelligible to speakers from other areas deserves further investigation, and the author hopes to receive linguistic data for this purpose.

3.4.3.2.3. *The Varying Influences of NGP's Lexifier Languages*

The lexical composition of NGP, according to Laycock (1970a:xi), is approximately as follows: English 77%, Tolai 11%, other New Guinea languages 6%, German 4%, Latin 3% and Malay 1%.[1] However, these percentages are different not only as one moves along the stylistic and social dimensions but also from area to area.

An important factor accounting for regional variation in the lexicon on NGP is whether an area was under the influence of the German administration and German speaking missions, or whether NGP was introduced by the Australian administration. NGP in the former areas shows a strong German influence in its vocabulary, particularly in the speech of older people, though also to a lesser extent among the younger generation. A study of the German vocabulary in NGP has been made by Mühlhäusler (1975d). The status of words of German origin has also been enhanced by the presence of German speaking missionaries in certain areas.

Regional variations in the percentage of lexical items of Tolai and other local origin were fairly pronounced in NGP's earlier stages. At that time its referential potential was limited and lexical items borrowed from local vernaculars were used in certain areas to meet certain communicative needs. A look at some older vocabularies such as those of Brenninkmeyer (1924), Borchardt (1926) and Kutscher (undated), shows that a fair number of local words were current in NGP as spoken on Manus, New Ireland and New Britain. Today, most of these lexical items are either obsolete or have become accepted throughout the country.

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[1] These figures are based on a count of lexical entries in Mihalic's dictionary (1957) and not on frequency counts in actual texts.

3.4.3.2.4. *Influence of Regionally Restricted Language Policies*

The first attempts to standardise NGP were made in the mid-1920s by various Catholic Mission bodies. The two most important varieties resulting from these early uncoordinated attempts are that used by the Sacred Heart missionaries of the Rabaul area, which is found throughout the New Guinea Islands, and that of the Divine Word mission of the New Guinea mainland. The differences between the two are mainly lexical and are found most typically in the field of doctrinal terminology. The policy of the Sacred Heart missionaries was to borrow words from Tolai, whereas the Divine Word missionaries introduced a large number of words of German origin. In recent years, attempts have been made to reduce these regional idiosyncracies.[1]

The differences resulting from mission language planning were reinforced by yet another factor, namely the development of certain centres from which innovations spread over the surrounding areas. Among these, Rabaul was the centre of diffusion of Islands Pidgin whereas Madang/Alexishafen was the centre for the mainland variety.

3.4.3.2.5. *Substratum Influences*

Though the notion of 'substratum influence' is not a well-defined theoretical concept, it is a useful term to cover a number of observations about the influence of a speaker's first language on his performance in NGP. Substratum influences can manifest themselves as certain lexical, syntactic and phonological habits in multilingual speech communities.

At present little is known about the degree and regional distribution of such substratum influences in NGP. Though it is undoubtedly true that phonetic habits differ considerably from area to area, and though certain regional properties in the area of syntax and semantics have been observed by a number of investigators, no systematically ordered observations are available. One suggestion is that the NGP of speakers of Melanesian languages may differ from that of speakers of non-Melanesian languages, a suggestion which should be followed up.

However, it must be stressed that substratum influences are very much a social phenomenon, i.e. deviant forms of NGP resulting from

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[1] Differences in spelling policies of the various mission bodies were removed in 1955, though differences in the lexical properties of the main varieties of mission NGP are still in evidence. (Cf. also Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977).

such influences reflect imperfect language acquisition and imperfect integration into the community of NGP speakers.[1] Thus, many deviations from Rural Pidgin resulting from substratum influences are lost once a speaker begins to communicate across regional boundaries. Only a few regionally determined idiosyncracies, those less central to the problem of efficient communication, are maintained.[2]

3.4.3.3. Regional Variation: Summary

There has been a tendency towards greater uniformity and the reduction of regional variation throughout the historical development of NGP. One of the main reasons for the absence of pronounced regional dialects lies in the nature of NGP as a means of communication beyond geographic and linguistic boundaries, with contacts outside a speaker's first language community. Therefore the NGP among speakers from different language backgrounds is a compromise. Highly marked regional idiosyncracies have no place in good NGP. The high regional mobility, necessitating the use of NGP by a large number of speakers from different language backgrounds, together with the continuous pressure for intelligibility, accounts for the levelling of regional differences such as may arise in the short term. NGP is a social rather than an individual solution to the problem of communication, and any innovations have to be accepted by a large number of speakers from various areas before they have a chance of becoming an integral part of NGP.

In addition one may adduce the temporal factor, since the time it takes for pronounced dialects resulting from internal change to develop is greater than the age of NGP. Lastly, the development of a united NGP was hastened by the emergence of modern mass media. The printed word spread by mission bodies and the government, and the spoken word transmitted over a number of radio stations since World War II have helped to eliminate regionally marked forms.

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[1] The setting of such a marginal variety of NGP is described by Bee (1972:69) as follows:

> Within their home area Usarufa speakers speak either their own or one of the three neighbouring languages. Pidgin is reserved for strangers, some pseudo-sophisticated court cases, joking, and dogs. The Usarufas live some thirty-five miles southwest of Kainantu and have had about twenty years of marginal exposure to Pidgin but until the last decate there has been very little incentive to learn it and even less opportunity to use it.

[2] The role of such differences is discussed by DeCamp (1974:46-60). Their description "requires a more complex model of speech acts operating within the kind of communication networks proposed by the ethnographers of speaking." (p.48)

In recent years, however, the transition from a fairly homogeneous to a heterogeneous society has led to the development of socially rather than regionally conditioned variations. Whether it will be possible to achieve greater uniformity in future will depend to a large degree on the success of standardisation procedures and the reduction in differences of social status between the traditionally oriented and westernised groups. It may well be that, with an increase in strong regionalism in some areas of Papua New Guinea, in particular Bougainville and the Highlands, regionally determined differences in NGP will become more pronounced. This will largely depend on whether the norms provided by coastal NGP continue to be generally accepted.

3.4.4. *SPECIAL REGISTERS OF NGP AND THEIR FUNCTIONS*

3.4.4.1. Introduction

The development of NGP in recent years has been characterised not only by its diversification into social and regional varieties but also by its functional expansion. With regard to the latter, one can distinguish between on the one hand the development of technical jargons which enable speakers of NGP to communicate about new modes of technology and learning, and on the other hand the emergence of special registers or levels of style, i.e. devices which introduce choice rather than referential adequacy.

Access to both technical jargons and special registers of style depends i) on a speaker's proficiency in NGP, and ii) on his being a member of a certain profession or group. The history of NGP's functional expansion has been dealt with in sections 3.2.4. to 3.2.8. The aim of the present section is to briefly outline the types of special registers found in present-day NGP and their communicative function. Their presence must be regarded as yet another indication of NGP's special position among the pidgin languages of the world.

In analysing the registers of NGP a distinction must be made between their linguistic characteristics and the use to which they are put. The following table will illustrate this:

linguistic properties of special registers	communicative function
use of metaphor, often over long stretches of speech	playful talk, vivid description or conversation, sometimes taboo
lexical replacement	taboo, stress group identity, exclude outsiders from conversation
syntactically and lexically simplified NGP	foreigner talk, i.e. NGP used by indigenes to address Europeans
use of repetition and other mechanisms of sentence linking	narration, careful instruction
backslang, i.e. NGP spoken backwards	exclude outsiders from conversation, taboo
heavily anglicised NGP	enhance speaker's prestige, stress his membership in the class of educated peoples
use of lexical synonymy	establish communication across sociolectal boundaries, ensure successful communication

The relationship between the registers of NGP as linguistic subsystems and their use for certain communicative purposes will now be illustrated with reference to the registers of **tok piksa** and **tok bokis** and their functions.

3.4.4.2. Tok Piksa, Tok Pilai, Tok Bokis, Tok Hait

The presence of some special levels of style in NGP, involving complex metaphors or lexical replacement, has drawn considerable attention. (For example, Aufinger 1949:90-2, Healey undated:122f., Brash 1971:12-20.) However, no rigorous analysis of these registers is available at present. One of the main weaknesses of the available accounts is the confusion between the terms **tok piksa**, **tok pilai**, **tok bokis** and **tok hait**. Bell (1977), for instance, admits that: "I am not able to discern the fine distinction between **tokbokis** and **tokhait**, but the use of one or the other is quite usual if an interloper, be he European or indigene, intrudes upon a conversation not meant for general consumption."

The synonymy of **tok bokis** and **tok hait** is also asserted by Brash (1971:12), whilst Healey (undated:123) introduces the following distinction:

> Tok bokis is idiomatic Pidgin just as an expression like 'Tonight I am taking my Bert Wheeler to the bank of France'[1] is in English. Though different words are used, the meaning is clear. Hait tok in written form conveys the actual correct meaning of the words. Its hidden meaning is only revealed if the spoken word is used, influenced by atmosphere, situation and the expression of the speaker, factors that cannot be included in a written example.

The terminological difficulties can be resolved very neatly, however, once the distinction between a linguistic register and its use in a certain social context is introduced. Thus tok bokis is the name for a special linguistic register which involves the replacement of lexical items by others whose meaning and/or form is fully conventionalised, rather than predictable from lexical conventions about metaphorical shift or lexical derivation. Tok hait, on the other hand, is the name given to the speech act involving the use of lexical substitutions with the purpose of excluding outsiders from a conversation.

A similar distinction can be drawn between the terms tok piksa and tok pilai. As pointed out by Brash (1971:15-6), tok piksa refers to a register of NGP involving the use of similes, whilst tok pilai refers to a situation in which "a metaphor can be kept up in lighthearted conversation to extend a conceit that is understood by both speakers." This play with words is an end in itself rather than an intentional effort to exclude others from overhearing what is said.

Once the separation between the various linguistic registers and the speech acts in which they can be involved is made, the fact that both tok piksa and tok bokis can be used for the same communicative function, for instance taboo language, need no longer be confusing.

At the same time, outsiders can be excluded from a conversation by means of registers other than tok bokis, e.g. by the use of backslang, sometimes referred to in NGP as tok mainus or tok bek (cf. Aufinger 1949:91). Most Europeans can be excluded from a conversation by the use of ordinary NGP instead of a simplified foreigner talk register. Ordinary NGP also suffices if the person who is not meant to overhear a conversation is physically absent. Talking behind a person's back is often referred to as tok baksait.

Whilst the linguistic properties of the main registers of NGP will be discussed in Chapter 4, more about their use in a number of situational contexts will be said now.

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[1] The meaning of this expression is not evident. One is dealing here with rhyming slang, the passage quoted by Healey standing for 'tonight I am taking my sheila to the dance.'

3.4.4.3. Playing with Words (Tok Pilai)

NGP has become the principal language of everyday communication for many of its users, in particular those living away from their home villages. For them NGP has come to fill not only the elementary function of verbal communication but also that of self-expression and itegration into a multi-tribal workgroup or urban neighbourhood.

Proficiency and creativity in the use of NGP are highly valued in these communities and can be regarded as an important indicator of a speaker's integration into such groups. Speaking of the use of NGP in urban communities, Brash (1975:322) remarks: "The city dweller who is forced to enact different roles, and to modulate different identities, is also forced into a more enterprising use of language." One such linguistic enterprise is the art of keeping up metaphors over long conversations:

> Examples of this type of conversation are limitless and they are a constant source of fun for those adept in its use. Usually this type of conversation starts on a theme and is extended by each speaker generally becoming more incomprehensible as it goes on but because of the original theme each added sentence, if clever, Pidgin wise, adds to the humour. A favourite type of nonsense engaged in by employees of large Companies on their week-end LIMLIMBUR.
>
> (Healey, undated:124)

More remarks on tok pilai can be found in two articles by Brash (1971: 16 and 1975:323).

3.4.4.4. The Taboo Register

A special use of both metaphors and lexical replacement is that in taboo speech. The avoidance of certain topics, in particular those of excretion, sickness, death and sexual reproduction, is very common in NGP though no study of this register, apart from a few remarks made by Aufinger (1949:117-8), has been made to date. It can be expected that conventions about verbal taboo will differ from locality to locality though a number of taboo expressions, which will be given in Chapter 4, have gained wide acceptance in NGP. Again, the presence of a taboo register is an indication of the advanced state of linguistic development of this pidgin.

3.4.4.5. Secret Varieties of NGP

The linguistic mechanisms used in excluding outsiders from a conversation are i) the use of special lexical conventions (tok bokis),

and ii) talking in reverse (tok mainus). Secret varieties of NGP have been reported by a number of writers, e.g. by Aufinger (1949) and Schwartz (1957).

Secret varieties (tok hait) are employed in three principal contexts. Their most important role is that exemplified in the various cargo movements, e.g. in the Paliau movement of Manus (cf. Schwartz 1957), the Yali movement in the Madang Province (cf. Lawrence 1964, Brash 1975:326) and the Yaliwan movement in the East Sepik Province (observations about secret varieties of NGP here were made by the author). The linguistic mechanisms involved include backslang (tok mainus) (cf. Aufinger 1949:91-2, Baker 1953:201-3) and, more commonly, changes in form and meaning of lexical items (tok bokis). In both cases, the conversation cannot be followed by a non-initiated person.

The principal function of the use of secret NGP in the various cargo movements is to exclude certain groups, particularly Europeans, missionaries and mission helpers, women, children and strangers, from gaining knowledge of a particular cargo cult. The use of secret meanings for a number of doctrinal terms, for instance, has often prevented European missionaries from noticing significant differences between their own interpretation of utterances and that intended by members of the community in which they were working. Thus, in the 1920s, shortly after the introduction of NGP as a mission language, the situation in the Madang area was such that "relations between natives and missionaries, although on the whole extremely amicable, were nevertheless based on complete mutual misunderstanding." (Lawrence 1964:85).

A second reason for the use of secret vocabulary in the cargo movements was the belief that words were vested with power of the kind needed to obtain the desired cargo. Brash (1975:326) writes:

> It is significant that some recent cult leaders have used Pidgin, and that they and their followers have imbued certain Pidgin words with supernatural power from other sources. For example, Yali's cult in the Madang District was conducted primarily in Pidgin, and used expressions like *lo bos* (law boss) for assistant leaders of the cult, and *rum tambu* (forbidden room) for Yali's holy room. Yali would often speak in symbolic language - *tok bokis* (story with a spiritual meaning like a parable) or *tok antap* (public statement with spiritual meaning and force).

A further belief, found with a number of cargo movements, is that the missions deliberately attempted to deceive their congregations by not revealing the true secret meaning of doctrinal terms. The view that lies told about the meaning of such terms had prevented converted

natives from obtaining European possessions (cargo) was held, for instance, by the leaders of the Paliau movement on Manus Island. This has been discussed in detail by Schwartz (1957:156ff).

The linguistic conventions found in the tok hait of the cargo movements are changed frequently, first in order to preserve the intended secrecy and second because the failure of older terms to provide the expected power results in further experimentation with new meanings and words. At this stage, the extent of the use of tok hait in the various cargo cults is still not well known, mainly because outsiders who want to obtain information about secret uses of NGP are treated with suspicion.

Secret varieties of NGP are also encountered in contexts other than the cargo movements. A second important function is their use by workers and employees to exclude European overseers, or others in authority, from their conversations. Tok hait used in this way also serves the secondary function of enhancing the solidarity of certain subgroups of speakers, as has been observed by Brash (1971:16):

> In a society in which identification with a group by the sharing of a common language is so important, it is not surprising that Pidgin is sometimes used as a substitute. When a person stays in his own language area surrounded by his wantoks he is in no danger of losing his sense of belonging even when foreigners arrive and disrupt the normal way of life. However, when he moves to the town or to a distant place of work and finds himself in company with men who do not speak his language, he may wish to use Pidgin as a substitute means of identification with his work mates. The workmen on a particular plantation may evolve a system of speaking in Pidgin which enables them to communicate among themselves to the exclusion of the overseers and the boss.

A third function of tok hait is its use by school children who do not wish to be overheard by their teacher (cf. Aufinger 1948:91). Finally, the author has been told that a variety of tok hait is also employed by the migrant workers (retskins) from the New Guinea mainland employed on Bougainville and Buka Islands. In this case the special variety of NGP would exclude the local population from overhearing conversations among members of the immigrant groups.

3.4.4.6. Other Registers of NGP

This section will conclude with some additional notes on further registers in NGP which have as yet received little attention. A first observation concerns the apparent absence of two registers found in other languages, namely **baby talk** and **proverbial expressions**, even in the creolised varieties of NGP studied by the author.

Though **baby talk** was not found, the author noted the use of a special kind of NGP which could be labelled **foreigner talk**,[1] i.e. that used by Papua New Guineans when dealing with English speaking Europeans with a limited knowledge of NGP. Its main characteristics are the replacement of lexical items of non-English origin with corresponding English items, a reduction in tempo, and repetition. It is most developed among those Papua New Guineans who are in continued contact with European visitors, for example those employed in hotels and other branches of the tourist industry and domestic servants. However, with English becoming known to an increasing number of people, foreigner talk is likely to be replaced by simple English.

Narrative style[2] in NGP is characterised by a number of devices promoting the coherence of discourse (cf. Reed 1943:283-4). It appears that the linguistic devices used are closely related to the narrative patterns found in local vernaculars, especially since most traditional stories told in NGP are translations of traditional oral literature. It follows that stories told by Europeans usually do not reflect this style. The style found in mission texts, such as biblical stories and parables, is characterised by the absence of stylistic devices typically found in stories told by members of the local population.

The fact that the functional expansion of NGP is a very recent phenomenon explains why stylistic differentiation in this language is not yet fully developed. However, sociolectal subdivision of NGP may come to serve as a stylistic means in the near future. Thus it appears likely that an increasing knowledge of English will enable many speakers to express themselves in both a conservative Rural Pidgin and an anglicised Urban Pidgin, with the latter perhaps reserved for official transactions, sophisticated arguments and similar purposes. The variety of NGP used by officials, particularly judges and politicians, already employs the resources of both Rural and Urban Pidgin, in

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[1] This special register of NGP has been observed by the author in numerous instances, particularly in the context of interaction with visiting tourists. Bell (1977) remarks on its use in the Army:

> In all fairness to the Australian, his inability to attain high proficiency in Pidgin is often encouraged by the brand of Pidgin used by him, by his men. An officer will attain a certain standard, and stop at that point. This is because his men, once they know him, lower their standard of Pidgin to make themselves understood and thus perpetuate the officer's often glaring errors.

[2] No detailed analysis of the properties of NGP discourse is available at present. Notes on discourse grammar can be found in Reed (1943:283-4) and Laycock (1970a: xxxv-xxxvi).

particular by the use of established lexical items side by side with recently borrowed ones of English origin. Examples will be given in Chapter 4.

The special registers of NGP can be associated with two main sources, namely internal development of the language and the development of certain group languages. Group languages and social varieties, once they become more widely known outside their group of origin, are likely to become special registers available to a wider speech community. The development of stylistic devices in NGP is still in progress, with indications that the language is steadily becoming more resourceful.

3.4.5. *CREOLISED VARIETIES OF NGP*

3.4.5.1. Different Kinds of Creolisation

The importance of NGP for the study of creole languages lies in the fact that creolisation can be observed *in situ*. Observations made on the basis of NGP are at least partially responsible for a revaluation of creolisation in recent years. Before presenting a brief overview of creolised varieties of NGP, some more general points will be discussed.

The most widely accepted descriptive definition of creolisation is that given by Hall (1966:xii): "A creole language arises when a pidgin becomes the native language of a speech-community." With regard to the linguistic consequences of creolisation there is widespread agreement that, when a language acquires native speakers, increased structural sophistication results: "When pidgins acquire native speakers they change ... these changes follow a regular pattern, supplying a variety of grammatical categories and syntactic devices which were missing in the pidgin" (Labov 1971a:12).

The definition needs to be refined, however, in order to distinguish between the various ways in which creolisation can take place. On the social side, one should distinguish between two kinds of situations. First, those cases where large groups of speakers from many diverse linguistic backgrounds come to a new country where the sudden need for cross-language communication gives rise to a pidgin, with subsequent social isolation leading to the establishment of a creole. Second are those instances where the social forces bringing about these linguistic developments are much more gradual and subtle. An instance of the first type was when large numbers of African slaves

were shipped to plantations in the Caribbean area; examples of the second type are Nigerian Pidgin English and NGP, where the severing of the traditional cultural and linguistic ties was much less drastic. This distinction has been commented upon by a number of linguists, including the present author, in recent years, for instance:

> In West Africa, as in PNG, a pidgin was vitally important in bridging linguistic barriers between the peoples native to these areas. In both areas it was expanded because of its local usefulness. If and when such expanded pidgins become more widely used as first languages it will be from choice, not necessity as it was in the West Indies where slaves, taken from many parts of West Africa, were compelled by circumstances to adopt the pidgin as their one effective means of communication. The expansion of a pidgin may be seen in all three areas, but in West Africa and PNG speakers had and have little need to abandon their local vernaculars.
>
> (Todd 1974b:54)

The distinction has important linguistic consequences. In the first situation a pidgin is spoken by the first generation whilst the second generation are creole speakers. This case involves the drastic restructuring of an unstable and impoverished pidgin into a fully-fledged creole. In the case of NGP and Nigerian Pidgin English on the other hand, the pidgin continues as a second language for much longer with creolisation emerging only slowly and in geographically restricted areas. In this situation - as can be seen in the case of NGP - the pidgin acquires a great degree of structural sophistication before it is creolised.

These observations indicate that, at least in the case of some pidgins, the transition from a minimal pidgin to a fully-fledged creole is gradual. It must be added that this is also true for the distinction between first and second language. Paralleling the linguistic and functional expansion of NGP, one can observe a gradual decrease in the age at which NGP is acquired. Though the number of those who learn NGP as their first language is small, more and more children learn NGP together with, or shortly after, a local vernacular. At the same time, a considerable number of speakers are using NGP most of the time because they find it more useful than their mother tongue.

It can thus be argued that the expansion of a pidgin over a long period may be quite different in its linguistic development from the drastic creolisation occurring when a whole generation must adopt a pidgin as their first language after having been exposed only to an impoverished and structurally unstable jargon. In the former case, linguistic expansion can come from a number of sources, including the

substratum languages spoken by the users of the pidgin in question and the lexifier language, unless it has been fully withdrawn. Camden's study of Bichelamar as spoken on South Santo provides a good illustration of the far-reaching grammatical consequences of continued substratum influence[1] (cf. Camden 1975). However, access to a specific substratum is only found very marginally in the second instance, where the child can only compensate for the deficiencies of the data which serve as the input to his language acquisition devices by resorting to a universal substratum (cf. Givón (1973:23) and Bickerton (1975b:5ff)). Bickerton describes the child's situation as follows:

> When he finds out which of the possible languages his community speaks, he can only conclude that it is an impossible one--too slow in tempo, too sparse in vocabulary, too inconsistent phonologically, but above all deficient in the distinctions it is capable of drawing between different types of state, event or action, or between assertions and presuppositions, or definite and non-definite referents, etc. How can he make good these deficiencies? Clearly, only by reverting to the 'tacit knowledge of linguistic universals' which he, along with every child, possesses. I am therefore claiming that what distinguishes a creole language from a pidgin on the one hand and a developed standard language on the other is simply that a creole is much closer than either to linguistic universals, in particular to natural semantax.
>
> (pp.5-6)

This distinction between creolisation of minimal pidgins and creolisation of expanded pidgins is crucial to our understanding of pidgins and creoles. Questions such as those asked by B. Robson (1975:5) as to whether a pidgin must have native speakers before it can be a real language or whether it must be a real language before it can have native speakers, are really non-problems. The expansion of a pidgin does not depend on the presence of native speakers nor is the presence of native speakers dependent on the expansion of a pidgin since these variables are not causally related.

The kind of creolisation found with NGP should therefore not be regarded as being representative of creolisation in general. It must be expected that reliance on universal semantax[2] is only marginally present and that much of the expansion accompanying the creolisation of NGP will follow the lines already present in the expanded NGP

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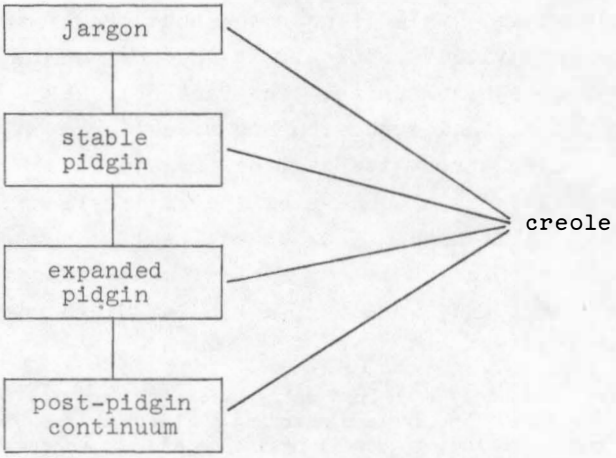
[1] However, it appears that access to specific substratum languages was not entirely absent in the first case of creolisation either. Instead, there is evidence, such as that produced by Huttar (1975:684-95), that substratum influence is a major factor in the shaping of the semantic system of creoles.

[2] The fact that speakers of a very large number of different languages were all involved in NGP's linguistic expansion may be yet another reason why this language exhibits linguistic properties which appear to have been taken directly from universal grammar.

spoken throughout Papua New Guinea. In conclusion, creolisation can occur at a number of points in a pidgin's development, a fact which can be illustrated as follows:



There are indications that all these types of creolisation have occurred in NGP's development, though their relative importance for the language as a whole differs. The following subsection will contain a number of observations about creolisation with special reference to NGP.

3.4.5.2. A Survey of First-Language NGP

There are no reliable data on when and where NGP was first spoken as a native language, but there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to suggest that this must have happened before the language had become fully stabilised. One of the first localities where creolisation occurred and where, in addition, it was a common phenomenon over an extended period, were the Samoan plantations, where marriages were frequent and a number of children were born who grew up speaking SPP as their first language (P. Rassmussen, personal communication).[1] How many of the children were repatriated, whether they remained monolingual SPP speakers in later life and where they went is not known.

[1] Mr Rassmussen of Apia has told the author that he grew up speaking SPP as his first language, and that SPP for him remained the language most frequently used (particularly with his peers, the children of the black plantation labourers) until he was ten. He now only remembers a few sentences, and uses Samoan and English.

Those who remained in Samoa, however, found their creolised pidgin of little use in the virtually monolingual environment and, in order to survive, had to use Samoan. The author's informants, who grew up speaking SPP as their first language, now only have a very rudimentary knowledge of this language. This illustrates that creolisation of a pidgin only results in a viable creole if it becomes the language of a large and coherent speech community. The fact that SPP was spoken as a first language by a considerable number of children on the Samoan plantations did little to arrest its decline in Samoa.

Native speakers of NGP may also have existed in small numbers on the numerous plantations in German New Guinea itself. However, the social context of the plantation labour system in New Guinea did not favour such a development and, moreover, a kind of birth control seems to have been prevalent:

> There were frequent instances of a Buka marrying a girl from New Ireland or a man from the North of New Ireland marrying a girl from the South of New Ireland or from New Britain, whose language he did not understand. Yet I have not heard of a single case in which the man learnt the language of the woman or the woman the language of the man. The means of communication between the two was invariably Pidgin English. As a rule these marriages only lasted for the term of contract. Once the three years had expired each one returned to their home. Children did normally not result from such marriages.
>
> (Schnee 1904:305; author's translation)

Another case of early creolisation has been reported by Janssen (1932:150) in an article on schools for mixed race children in German New Guinea:

> The mission could not remain indifferent to the sad plight of these children. It began to collect them and when their numbers continued to grow it founded its own institution in 1897 where they were to be educated by the sisters. Now that was a really difficult enterprise. The whites are generally ignorant of the natives' language and in conversation with them make use of Pidgin English, the workers' language, which is a mixture of corrupted English and native dialects. The halfcastes mostly speak only this Pidgin English with a few bits of native language heard from their mother, which of course differs according to the home. On their arrival at the mission station they are therefore hardly able to make themselves understood.
>
> (author's translation)

This quotation, though it unfortunately does not contain any linguistic documentation, is of great theoretical importance. If Janssen's observations are correct, one is dealing with a situation in which children grew up speaking a pidgin as their first language without this leading to increased linguistic complexity of their speech. If this is true, it would give sustenance to the claim that the linguistic

expansion accompanying the acquisition of a pidgin as a first language is a social and not an individual phenomenon, i.e. linguistic expansion only occurs in situations where large numbers of first language speakers are involved. Creolisation is thus the product of 'communal language acquisition competence'. An explanation for this situation may be the fact that any improvements a child might introduce as a result of his learning a pidgin as his first language are encouraged only by members of his peer group who find themselves in the same situation whilst being discouraged or ignored by adults.[1]

Creolisation in the early days of NGP's development was the exception rather than the norm and, until the end of World War II, the social situation in New Guinea did not promote the development of large-scale creolisation. Factors discouraging creolisation were the fact that NGP was known to only a small number of women and, even more important, that the labour recruiting system did not result in any permanent dislocation of large populations. Those who went to work on the plantations and mines did so only for a limited time, after which they returned to their traditional way of life in their home villages. It is probable that some families used NGP as their main language and that children growing up on some of the mission and government stations were native speakers of NGP. However, their numerical influence must have been negligible. At this stage the gradual structural expansion of second-language NGP, resulting from earlier learning age and increased use in new social situations, was much more important.

Creolisation involving significant numbers of speakers is found only towards the end of NGP's structural expansion stage and in the post-pidgin phase. The social context which resulted in NGP's becoming a first language for Papua New Guinean children came about with large-scale intertribal marriage between groups of people settled in areas in which neither partners' home language was spoken. This type of creolisation is most typically found in the urban centres of Papua New Guinea and among certain professional groups such as soldiers,[2]

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[1] The author has observed cases of active discouragement on the part of adults of the use of more 'progressive' but non-standard NGP by children speaking it as a first language. On the other hand, Sankoff (1975a:107) reports that second-language speakers of NGP in urban areas tend to comment favourably on the linguistic performance of their children who are native speakers.

[2] Remarks on the social context leading to creolisation of NGP in the Army can be found in Bell (1977).

members of the police force and teachers. According to social circumstances, three main types of creolisation of present-day NGP can be distinguished.

3.4.5.3. Creolisation in Present-Day NGP

i) Creolisation in Urban Areas

The urban setting has often been regarded as the most typical locality in which creolisation of NGP takes place. Both the setting and a number of linguistic features of creolised Urban Pidgin have been described in detail by Sankoff and Laberge (1973:32-47) and by Sankoff (1975a and 1975b). Sankoff and Laberge (1973:34) characterise the social setting as follows:

> These people are the ever more numerous urbanites, more specifically, the children who have grown up in one of New Guinea's urban communities. Their parents may be from different areas, having no language in common except Tok Pisin, which is used as a household language. Even if the parents do have a native language in common, children growing up in towns frequently have little more than a partial and passive command of it. Parents commonly say: 'The children only understand simple commands like when we tell them to go and get something, and they never answer us in our language, but only in Tok Pisin.' On the basis of observations made during June-August 1971 (principally in Lae, but also in Wewak and Port Moresby), it appears that the native speakers of Tok Pisin are, by and large, under twenty years of age, and that their numbers are growing very rapidly.

Creolisation in urban areas thus takes place in households[1] where NGP is already spoken fluently as a second language. Further, whilst the traditional vernaculars are of little importance, the influence of English on the direction of linguistic change is considerable. Whether creolisation in urban areas will lead to greater stabilisation of Urban Pidgin or whether, as predicted by Bickerton (1975a:21-7), a linguistic continuum between NGP and English will develop, remains to be seen.

ii) Creolisation in Non-traditional Rural Settlements

Events since World War II have led not only to incipient urbanisation but also to some significant changes in the patterns of rural settlement. An important category of settlement is that where members from diverse tribal areas voluntarily settle in new areas, either because of their desire to escape from geographic isolation or because

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[1] In the 1971 census 67,366 males and 24,627 females claimed that their home language was NGP. In the absence of other evidence these figures are difficult to interpret, though they may be taken as an indication that NGP is spoken in more than 20,000 households as the principal language.

of new economic activities. An instance of the former type is the movement of villagers from the interior of Manus to coastal areas, whereas the latter type is found at the Hoskins Oil Palm Project or in the plantation community of Malabang on Manus Island studied by the author in 1974.

The inhabitants of the latter settlement are the descendants of Buka men recruited as labourers from a nearby plantation in the late 1940s, and women from various parts of Manus Island. The village was established on land bought from another village and the Malabang community today embraces about 200 members, many of whom live in Lorengau or other parts of Papua New Guinea. NGP is the only language used in all households and the second generation of native speakers of NGP is now growing up. Access to English was very limited until about two years ago when an English-medium primary school was established. Contacts with the outside world are frequent. Canoes from Malabang regularly visit Lorengau carrying copra from the nearby plantation to the storehouses there. Marriages outside the village are common. Thus NGP is regularly used in communication with outsiders for whom it is not the first language, the small children being the only group excepted from this.

A second instance studied by the author is that of Yip, a new village on the Keram River in the East Sepik Province. The reason for this settlement was the erection of the local government council chambers and a large primary school. The boarding school is attended by children from a number of different language backgrounds and their only means of communication is NGP. NGP is also used by the various trade store owners, government representatives and some of those parents who choose to be near their children and who often bring with them children who are not yet of school age. It is in this atmosphere that children learn to speak NGP as their principal, often their first, language.

However, voluntary replacement does not always lead to the establishment of a creolised variety of NGP. Thus, whereas NGP usually changes its status from a second to a first language under such circumstances, the opposite is said to have happened in Popeo village on Rambutyo Island near Manus. As in Malabang, a group of men recruited as plantation labourers (in this case from the Sepik Province) married native women and settled on the island. The author was unable to visit Popeo himself but was told by residents that, in the second generation, children no longer speak NGP as their native language but

use the local vernacular. This is presumably due to the isolation of the locality and the fact that only one language is spoken on the island. The case of Popeo would be an example of a creolised pidgin becoming a true pidgin again.

The case of Popeo confirms the fact that, for a pidgin to become a true creole, this must have a permanent advantage over the alternatives. It appears that in this case, comparable to that on the Samoan plantations, proficiency in NGP was not enough for full participation in the life of Rambutyo Island; this factor, together with the relative strength of the local vernacular and the isolation of the locality, motivated monolingual NGP speakers to opt for a traditional vernacular.

So far, the impact of rural resettlements on the development of creolised varieties of NGP has been relatively small, though further changes in rural life-style may alter this.

iii) Gradual Replacement of Traditional Vernaculars by NGP

The main factor leading to the gradual disappearance of a vernacular is a decline in the number of domains in which a vernacular is useful. The communities affected by such a change will thus be relatively exposed to outside influences and ready to accept them. In addition, their local vernacular will be of very limited regional importance and thus will gradually be replaced by a more functional language, in this case NGP. The following is but one of the many instances in which this kind of creolisation is going on at present.

Erima (Nambis) is a small village situated in the Astrolabe Bay. The language spoken there is shared with three other villages and the total number of speakers, according to Z'graggen (1971:106), is 410. Erima was one of the first places on the New Guinea mainland to come into contact with the European administration and economy. It is situated in an area in which German plantation interests were most active; its harbour was important in the copra trade before 1900 and it remained a centre of busy trading activities until World War I.

The period dating from World War I up until recently was one of standstill and even decline, however. Erima Nambis had the status of an isolated rural community and the use of NGP was restricted to communication with outsiders. It appears that a drastic change in the relative importance of the local vernacular and NGP has occurred in the last decade. Children under the age of ten no longer have an active command of the vernacular and for most people under twenty NGP is the language of everyday communication. The desire to promote the

vernacular is restricted to the members of the middle-aged and older generations, who are not in a position to change the turn of events.

The social conditions which may have favoured such a development include the construction of a road linking Erima with Madang throughout the dry season, the availability of fast water transport, the increasing acceptance of Western modes of living, including the introduction of an economy based on cash crops and meat farming. The eagerness to take part in new modes of life is also expressed in the construction of school buildings by the villagers in the hope of having regular primary education in future.

The case of Erima is but one of many in which NGP appears to be gradually taking over the functions of the local vernacular and where children simply no longer learn the latter. The writer has observed this happening in villages west of Wewak between Wewak and But, and there are strong indications that many coastal communities on Manus and the surrounding islands are undergoing a similar development. Though no reliable study concerning the extent of this development is available, it appears that creolisation of NGP in rural areas could well be as important a force in the linguistic development of NGP as is creolisation in urban centres.

3.4.5.4. Creolisation of NGP: Summary

Creolisation as found in present-day NGP involves the gradual transition of a fully developed expanded pidgin into a first language for a new generation of speakers. This transition is reflected in gradual changes in the manner of transmission, as well as gradual changes in its linguistic structure.

First language NGP is still restricted to a relatively small subset of NGP speakers, though there are signs of its becoming increasingly important as a first language. The social context in which the transition from vernacular to NGP takes place is mainly non-traditional, i.e. creolisation is found in urban settlements and non-traditional rural settlements. NGP appears to become adopted in some traditional settlements as a first language, particularly where the local vernacular is of restricted importance and not suited to bringing about desired changes in life-style. The adoption of NGP in these cases reflects its strong association with progress, cultural change and non-traditional ways of life.

Creolisation, it has been argued, is a social phenomenon. It can gain impetus only once a whole community is involved in learning NGP as a first language. Though there were some instances of NGP being used as a first language in its earlier stages, these appear to have had little impact on its development.

CHAPTER 4

THE NATURE OF NGP'S LEXICON

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present a detailed documentation of the development of NGP's lexicon through the five principal stages of its life-cycle as well as observations about the ways in which these diachronic developments are reflected synchronically in the social, regional and stylistic varieties of this language.

A number of subdivisions have been introduced, the first between diachronic development of the lexicon and synchronic variation. The resulting subchapters are further subdivided on the basis of linguistic criteria such as the distinction between lexical inventory and lexical system. The distinction between synchronic and diachronic treatment cannot be a clear-cut one and will be partly neutralised, since a number of present-day varieties of NGP are at the same time identified with stages in its diachronic development.

The observations made in this chapter will be, in Chapter 5, followed up by a detailed account of the derivational lexicon of present-day Rural Pidgin. In discussing the nature of NGP's lexicon, reference will be made to Chapter 5 in a number of places. In particular, the numbers of the various derivational programs (cf. section 2.6.2.) discussed here are those used in Chapter 5. Some readers may prefer to get acquainted with the end-product of the developments in NGP's lexicon first, and thus read Chapter 4 after Chapter 5.

Though the study which follows is not exhaustive, it is based on a very large corpus of data. The author is confident that this data allows a sufficiently clear characterisation of both structural expansion and synchronic variation.

4.2. THE DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF NGP'S LEXICON

4.2.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The main aim of this subchapter is to provide a detailed account of the development of NGP's lexicon from its beginnings to the present. This development involves two main linguistic processes, first the breaking down of the lexicons of NGP's lexifier languages and, second, the restructuring of an impoverished minimal lexicon into the highly complex one of present-day NGP.

The linguistic character of NGP's developing lexicon is seen as being related to the external events which characterise the various stages of its life-cycle. The view that the impact of the forces shaping the lexicon of NGP differs from stage to stage is one of the principal results of this investigation. It supersedes earlier proposals by the author (Mühlhäusler 1974) that the structure of a pidgin lexicon can be explained primarily in terms of the notion of 'simplification' as well as the static view of pidgins expressed, for instance, by Hall (1962:152): "... from the structural point of view, a pidgin represents the very first stage of rudimentary language learning, with the development of linguistic structure and lexicon arrested at this level."

It was also confirmed that the relationship between the lexical items of NGP and items of its lexifier languages is quite complex[1] and that statements asserting that this language has a basically English lexicon do not adequately characterise the lexical relatedness between these two languages.

Before presenting further conclusions the author wants to discuss his observations concerning the development of the NGP lexicon, using, for this purpose, the life-cycle model introduced in section 3.2.1.

4.2.2. *THE LEXICON OF JARGON ENGLISH*

4.2.2.1. Introduction

A striking feature of the lexicon of the various kinds of Pacific Jargon English is its very small inventory of lexical bases and the

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[1] A number of writers have commented on this point. Givón (1973:20), for instance, asserts that the criterion of 'borrowed vocabulary' is "fuzzy, meaningless, or tautological", an opinion based on observation of the behaviour of Krio verbs of English origin. Hancock (1975) has provided numerous other examples from Krio showing extensive restructuring of borrowed vocabulary. The view adopted in the present chapter is that it is lexical information rather than unanalysable words which is borrowed.

paucity of lexical information found with these bases, a result of the superficial contacts which spawned it. Another important feature is the lack of internal structure. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations between lexical items are virtually non-existent, and lexical items derived by regular processes in the lexifier languages have lost their 'transparency'. This feature has been observed in other jargons and is still found in many non-expanded pidgins.[1] Speaking of the absence of derived lexical items in West African Pidgin English, Agheyisi (1971:55) states: "This fact single-handedly accounts most significantly for the abnormally reduced size of the pidgin lexicon, the bulk of which is made up of unproductive 'roots' or basic forms."

Not only was the lexicon of Jargon English unstructured but it appears that, in the absence of any fixed syntactic conventions in the initial contact period, the list of lexical items known to Pacific Islanders in various localities constituted their knowledge of the grammar of Jargon English. That the acquisition of lexical items, "with scant regard to pronunciation or grammar" (Whinnom 1971:101) is commonly found in the jargon context, has been observed by a number of writers, for instance, Zöller (1891:419):

> There are three stages in penetrating foreign languages. The first and lowest stage which we in educated Europe hardly know, but which is observed more often than the second stage in communication between the white man and the members of the coloured races, merely comprises a more or less limited knowledge of the vocabulary.
>
> (author's translation)

4.2.2.2. The Size of the Minimal Lexicon

Compared with the lexical resources of its principal lexifier language, the inventory of lexical bases found in Jargon English was diminutive. Churchill's remarks (1911:12) that "we find the irreducible minimum which is felt to underlie all the refinements of vocabulary" may be regarded as representative of many similar statements. Estimates as to the precise number of lexical items have been made only for the early stabilised Pacific pidgins, though they may be taken as an indication of the number of lexical bases found in Jargon English as spoken by the Pacific Islanders.[2] The lowest estimates

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[1] Fauquenoy (1974:34) reports the lack of word-formation devices even for a fully-fledged creole, i.e. Guayanese French Creole: "Guayanese vocabulary is developing essentially through borrowings and it does not show any process of word derivation."

[2] Since these jargons were a special register of speech rather than a separate language for speakers of English, the number of lexical items used by this group is even more difficult to determine, particularly since their intuitions about lexical simplification appear to have been rather undeveloped.

are those for the New Hebrides. Speiser (1931:9) claims that the "mutilated English" spoken there contained hardly more than fifty words, whilst Jacomb (1914:91) puts the figure at "no more than a hundred words." Genthe (1908:10) suggests around 300 lexical bases for SPP spoken in the 1880s whilst Churchill (1911) "who unfortunately drew his vocabulary from various printed sources instead of setting down the words he had actually heard used, gives about 300 words." (Reinecke 1937:764). However, these estimates are of limited relevance since none of them is based on an actual word count and since, furthermore, the size of the lexical inventory must have differed from locality to locality with changing requirements for verbal communication.

The small number of lexical bases reflects i) the restricted range of topics which required verbal communication and ii) a conscious or unconscious attempt on the part of speakers of English to reduce their vocabulary by selecting unmarked lexical items or items which, in their opinion, were readily understood by their partners in transaction (cf. Whinnom 1971:99 and Ferguson 1972). However, intuition about lexical simplification appears to be rather incomplete in foreigner talk registers as an inspection of the lexical items collected by Churchill (1911:33-53) has shown. The examples are quoted in their original spelling:

Jargon English	Gloss
make'm peasoup adrift	*'open the tin of meat'*
break out that bread	*'open that tin of biscuits'*
look alive	*'hurry up'*
bone along me slew	*'to be bewitched'*
he look daylight a long time	*'to lie awake'*

Remarks on the use of difficult vocabulary in jargon situations have also been made by Clyne (1975).

4.2.2.3. The Sources of the Jargon English Lexicon

The lexicon of Jargon English in the Pacific area was composed primarily of items of English origin and this has commonly been taken as an indication of the dominant position of English speakers. Though this must undoubtedly be taken into consideration, there is also the purely practical point concerning efficient communication in a multilingual situation. The number of languages spoken in the area visited by the whalers, traders and recruiters was very high, particularly in Melanesia. In such a situation, the adoption of a pidgin based on any of the local languages would have meant no advantage. Furthermore, broken English was also used by French and German traders, and concern

about losing status appears to have been a relatively minor motif in a situation where financial advantage was the principal concern.

The lexical inventory of Jargon English is derived from two main sources, namely certain lexical conventions belonging to the pidgin or foreigner talk register of English and *ad hoc* innovations. With regard to the former Reed (1943:275) remarks:

> ... mention must first be made of that class of words common to Beach-la-mar and Australasian English before the settlement of New Guinea. Certain words and phrases had so wide a distribution in Pacific trade jargons of early days that their origins can only be surmised. A list of such words would include, among others, the following:
>
> | PIDGIN | ENGLISH | USE OF MEANING |
> |---|---|---|
> | *baimbai* | by and by | (adverb of future time) |
> | *bilong* | belong | (preposition denoting possession) |
> | *fĕla* | fellow | (the article) |
> | *geman* | gammon (?) | no good, deceitful |
> | *maski* | ? | never mind |
> | *pĭkanĭnĭ* | pickaninny | child, the young |

R. Clark (1975:3) stipulates that lexical items can only be regarded as potential members of a specifically Pacific tradition of Pidgin English if they meet the criteria of:

i) being different from standard or dialectal English
ii) being unlikely to have arisen independently in more than one pidgin tradition
iii) being independent of geographical and cultural factors.

Unfortunately, no account such as that of the Atlantic pidgins and creoles (Hancock 1969:7-72) is available for the Pacific at present, and the following list, based on R. Clark's data and the author's own investigations, must be regarded as preliminary to more detailed investigation:

Pacific Jargon English	Present-Day NGP	Gloss
all same	olsem	*'like, as'*
along	long	general preposition
bulmakau	bulmakau	*'cattle, meat'*
fellow	-pela	adjective suffix, *'something'*
catch	kisim	*'to get, obtain'*
come up	kamap	*'to appear, become'*
lookout	lukautim	*'to look for, search'*
mary	meri	*'woman'*
what name?	wanem	*'what?'*
pull	pulim	*'to abduct, force, seduce'*
stop	stap	*'to stay, remain'*
kiki	kaikai	*'to eat, food'*

Some additional information can be found in a glossary of Hawaiian Pidgin compiled by Carr (1972:119-58).

Such lexical conventions were at best rough guidelines, and deviations from shaky norms were found throughout this period. A typical example are the lexical variants found by the author in a preliminary analysis of about 150 pages of court proceedings contained in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Recruiting Polynesian Labourers in New Guinea and Adjacent Islands* (1885), where broken English is used by many of the witnesses and the court interpreters. The picture gained is that, whilst most of the standard Pacific Pidgin English vocabulary was used at one time or another, lexical items of different origin were also commonly used, with lexical variants appearing in the speech of individuals as well as inter-individually. Some of these variants, given in their original spelling, include:

Item most commonly used in the Pacific	Variants	Gloss
lookout	*find, fish*	*'to search, hunt'*
pikinini	*child*	*'child'*
whiteman	*dimdim*	*'European'*
kaikai, kiki	*eat*	*'to eat'*
save	*hear him, understand*	*'to know, understand'*
too much	*plenty, very*	*'very'*
mary	*woman*	*'woman'*
musket	*snider, rifle, gun*	*'rifle, gun'*
gammon	*tell lie*	*'to lie'*
talk	*speak, say*	*'to speak, talk, say'*

A profusion of terms was used to refer to the length of contract (i.e. three years), including yam, borima and dega-dega,[1] not out of a wish for better communication, but, as the commission suggests, in an attempt to mislead the recruits about the length of contract. Despite the high amount of variation, some degree of stabilisation no doubt occurred in localities where the contacts had achieved some measure of permanency, such as in frequently visited trading stations or on board the many vessels.[2]

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[1] The use of these terms is discussed in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Recruiting* (1885:817).

[2] Schellong (1934:98) has described the development of some lexical conventions on board the cutter *Lölia*, a German recruiting vessel:

> The tribe that happens to have the numerical superiority in the encounter of people from several island groups is likely to gain linguistic superiority as well. Captains and mates are amused by this confusion of languages.

(cont'd opposite)

The presence of variants suggests the importance of a second source of new lexical items, namely *ad hoc* adoptions. Thus, where no established lexical items were at hand, new ones were introduced in an *ad hoc* way. Many of them later disappeared without being found in the various stable pidgins which superseded the unstable jargons. Thus, Bishop (1900) reports the items **fangolu** *'angry'* (p.22), **manu** *'lucky'* (p.24) and **matemate** *'kill'* (p.112) in the Solomons. Thomas (1886:253) mentions **mano** *'dress'* in use in the New Hebrides along with a number of other lexical items not reported elsewhere. Schuchardt (1889:112) reports the use of two strange items - believed by the natives to be of English origin - on the Duke of York Islands: **kinkenau** *'to steal'* and **tillewat** *'to make fast, tie up'*. *Ad hoc* loans of English origin are found in Churchill's vocabulary (1911) including items such as **creak, growl, slush** and **rogue**. Numerous similar examples can be found in travel books, biographies and other written accounts dating back to this period.

Whilst further listing of such *ad hoc* loans may yield a better picture of the referential inadequacies of early Jargon English, an understanding of the character of its lexicon can be gained only if the social conditions under which it developed are taken into account. As Quirk (1972:57) remarks:

> ... more pervasively, the pidgins seem universally to bear the social marks of their origin: a lexicon preoccupied with the menial, frequently brutal, innocently coarse, and in scores of ways reflecting the bullying role of the original teachers.

The coarseness of the vocabulary is generally regarded as reflecting the speech of sailors who, in contrast to the missionaries who later purified the vocabulary, (Höltker 1945:58) found nothing wrong with using four letter words, some of which are still found in present-day NGP (cf. Hall 1943a:197). Together with such obscenities the unsuspecting islanders were taught linguistic 'jokes', such as **coconut** for *'head'*, **savvy-box** for *'brain'* or **sodawater** for *'sea'*.[1] Another variety of substandard English which contributed a number of items to the various jargons was sailors' slang:

(fn.2 cont'd)
> They hear this or that strange word and occasionally employ it instead of the English equivalent. Thus, on our cutter quillequille is always used for 'quick', kaikai instead of 'eat', bulmakau instead of 'meat' and so forth.
>
> (author's translation)

[1] Nevermann (1929:254-5) remarks: "The involuntary comic character of Pidgin has tempted the whites in the South Seas to play their part in increasing it." (author's translation) However, not all examples given by Nevermann illustrate his point. Contrary to his assertion, the NGP item **sospen** *'saucepan'* did not have its origin in a European joke.

> Very properly, in close accordance with our knowledge of the history of the growth of this trade-speech, the marine element is large. There can be no hesitation in ascribing to forecaste English such exotics as *pickaninny, calaboose,* and *savvy*--longshore sweepings from the Spanish Main. The *squareface*, sole landward hope of the sailor, is scarcely known ashore. The sailor dialect has kept alive and has given to these remote savages the special sense of *sing out* and *look out*, of *capsize* along with *copper*, of *slew*, of *look alive*, of *adrift* and *fashion*.
>
> (Churchill 1911:29)

The role of sailors' language in the Pacific varieties of English has been discussed by a number of other writers, including Quirk (1972:55), Todd (1974a:13), and Reinecke (1937:534).

4.2.2.4. 'Breaking Down' a Lexicon

Jargons and pidgins are typically characterised as impoverished and broken-down versions of their lexifier languages.[1] However, there have as yet been few attempts to make explicit what is meant by these labels. The notion of impoverishment has been associated with the reduction in size of a lexical inventory when compared to the lexifier language of a jargon or pidgin. Whilst the loss in referential potential is most striking, it must be kept in mind that the reduction in size of the lexicon of English also involves the loss of stylistic choice, geographically and socially determined variants, and other non-referential semantic information.[2]

There is no unambiguous statement about what is meant by 'breaking down' with regard to the lexicon. The present author suggests that those perceived distortions occurring when lexical items of English origin are used by the learners - i.e. the islanders who try to pick up bits of the language spoken by the visitors - in a jargon context can be associated with a wholesale loss of lexical information, with the loss of information about lexical relatedness leading to the disappearance of internal structure of the lexicon.

The fact that the speakers of Pacific Jargon English belonged to a number of different groups, the most important distinction being that between native speakers of English and the islanders, makes it impossible to write a lexical grammar. Instead, the author will point out the kind of processes involved in breaking down the lexicon of English, leaving aside the question as to how these processes are realised in

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[1] For further discussion cf. Agheyisi (1971:31-4).

[2] The fact that even a small inventory of lexical items can be made to go a long way has been observed by several writers, for instance Jacomb (1914:91) who writes, on early Bichelamar: "Probably the vocabulary of the ordinary speaker of Pidgin-English consists of not many more than a hundred words, but those words are made go a long way. Many gradations of meaning are added by changed intonation and facial expression."

the speech of individual speakers. This approach is further justified by the general instability of the various contact jargons, exhibiting "a quality of tentativeness and a process of mutual linguistic adjustment through exploitation of all the language practices at hand." (Goodman 1967:43)

Lexical items, as has been shown in subchapter 2.4., can be regarded as the repository of a vast amount of information, both unpredictable basic information and that derived from basic information by regular lexical processes. Lexical information is acquired by native speakers of a language over a long period of time and this process cannot be repeated under the adverse learning conditions characterising the development of jargons. Thus, whilst some of the lexical information is restructured to suit the phonetic and semantic habits of the learner, most of it is lost, only that needed to achieve the minimal aim of having at one's disposal a few names for objects and actions remaining. This constitutes a small and sometimes distorted subset of the lexical information contained in the lexical items of the lexifier language.

The **loss of phonological information** manifests itself in two ways. The first kind of loss is that of phonological information other than the surface phonetic properties of lexical items. This means that access to underlying phonological representations is not available to the learners and that therefore the phonological relatedness of lexical items in the lexifier language is no longer realised in the derived jargon (cf. Kay and Sankoff 1974:61-72, Mühlhäusler 1974:84-8). Phonological information is further lost through the conflating of sounds from the inventory of English by the learners in the jargon context, resulting in the disappearance of many contrasts and the increased likelihood of homophones.

Though the loss of phonological information in Pacific Jargon English varied from locality to locality, a number of processes were widely found:

i) The loss of syllables preceding the main stress

This can be illustrated by lexical items from Jargon English such as baka *'tobacco'*, krut *'recruit'*, pos *'suppose'*, nap *'enough'*.

ii) The loss of consonant clusters

Examples include tesin *'station'*, kapen *'captain'*, and mata *'master'*. More commonly, epenthetic vowels appear between the consonants constituting clusters in the lexifier language.

iii) The loss of phonological distinctions

Typical instances involve some highly marked English sounds such as [θ] and [ʃ] which are rendered as [t] and [s] respectively, the loss of

distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, and the reduction of the English vowel system to one distinguishing from three to five vowels (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:76-7). The following letter written by a Rarotongan missionary in the New Hebrides in 1880 illustrates some of these phonological changes:

> Misi kamesi Arelu Jou no kamu ruki mi Mi no ruki iou Jou ruku Mai Poti i ko Mae tete Vakaromala mi raiki i tiripi Ausi parogi iou i rukauti Mai Poti mi nomoa kaikai mi angikele nau Poti mani Mae i kivi iou Jamu Vari koti iou kivi tamu te pako paraogi mi i penesi nomoa te Pako Oloraiti
>
> Ta, Mataso.
>
> Mr. Comins, (How) are you? You no come look me; me no look you; you look my boat he go Mae today. Vakaromala me like he sleep house belong you, he look out my boat. Me no more kaikai, me hungry now, boat man Mae he give you yam very good; you give some tobacco belong me [dative], he finish, no more tobacco. All right.
>
> Ta, Mataso.
>
> (from Schuchardt 1889:160)

It appears that one is dealing not only with the loss of phonological information but also with a certain degree of restructuring on the part of the islanders. However, this is an *ad hoc* restructuring with no stable conventions favouring a solution intermediate between the jargon and English. At this point, standard English is the only measure for correctness and the various jargons encountered by English-speaking visitors are given labels such as 'broken English', fairly good English' or 'a kind of English'.[1] Independent norms for phonological information were to develop only during the crystallisation of stable pidgins.

The **loss of morphological information**[2] is manifested in the failure on the part of the 'learners' to correctly identify morpheme and word boundaries of the lexifier language. There appears to be a scale of difficulty in identifying morphemic composition, progressing through three main stages:

i) inflectional and derivational affixes are hardly ever identified as such;
ii) compounds are often learnt as simple bases;
iii) word boundaries in the target language are sometimes ignored.

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[1] An example is that of remarks about the linguistic proficiency of recruited labourers from the New Guinea area in the *Report of the Royal Commission* (1885). Though some of these clearly spoke a variety of Beach-la-mar, they are labelled 'spoke a little English', 'spoke English', and so forth. Another example is a remark by Thomas (1886: 147): "The Loyalty boys nearly all speak English, and perfectly understand the value of money."

[2] Further remarks on the loss of morphological information were made by Weinreich (1970:47ff) and Mühlhäusler (1974:54-7).

Stages i), ii), and iii) account for the morphological restructuring in anis *'ant, ants'*, trausel *'tortoise(-shell)'* and tasol *'that's all'* respectively. A more detailed discussion can be found in subsection 4.3.2.2.

The lack of syntactic rules in Jargon English can be regarded as the main source for the **loss of syntactic information.** It manifests itself first in the loss of categorial information such as is contained in the items of the lexifier language. As a result the items of the jargon are unspecified with regard to categorial information. The observations made by Silverstein for Chinook Jargon (1972:381) also bear on Jargon English. The "freedom from lexical specification", as Silverstein calls it,

> ... can increase the 'information' of each unit. A great part of the lexicon of Chinook Jargon is in fact made up of 'words' both semantically and grammatically ambiguous, in a far less systematic way than e.g. English, with its zero deverbative and denominative formations.

The indeterminacy of the categorial status of lexical items can be seen in the following analysis of two Jargon English sentences listed in Churchill's vocabulary (1911):

i)	you	speak	lie	plenty	
	Pron.	V	N	adj. or adv.	
or:	Pron.	V	V	adv.	
ii)	he	too much	fright		
	Pron.	adj.	N		
or:	Pron.	adv.	adj/Vint.		

The loss of other kinds of syntactic information is reflected, for instance, in the use of verbals as both transitive and intransitive where the lexifier language uses two distinct lexical items. Thus kill can refer to both *'to kill'* and *'to die'*, talk to *'to say'* and *'to talk, converse'* and look out to *'to be careful'* and *'to search for'*. A similar instance is the use of sell which "was pigeon-English for every dealing, and was a term for engagement among the natives" (Thomas 1886:230). Thus whereas English distinguishes three lexical bases *'buy'*, *'sell'*, and *'pay'* depending on the arguments taken by the verbal in question, Jargon English makes no such distinction.

The **loss of semantic information** which can be observed during the breaking down of the English lexicon is manifested:

i) in the loss of much of the referential meaning contained in individual lexical bases;
ii) in the loss of information about co-occurrence restrictions and non-central elements of meaning.

The first type is illustrated in the following examples:

Lexical item	Referential meaning in Jargon English	Referential meaning in English
copper	pot, cauldron	*'the metal copper pot, cauldron, small coins, policeman'*
line	fishline	*'fishline, cord row, series, mark traced on surface, etc.*
yarn	tale, conversation	*'spun thread, tale, discourse'*

Whilst this type of loss results in a decrease in the referential potential of Jargon English when compared with standard English, the second process has the opposite effect, as can be seen from the following table:

Lexical item	Meaning in Jargon English	Meaning in standard English
calico	cotton cloth	*'plain white cotton cloth of rough texture'*
heavy	heavy, difficult, hard to manage	*'hard to manage because of weight'*
walk about	be in motion	*'to stroll, walk on foot (of humans) in leisurely fashion'*

The result of these two kinds of changes in semantic information is that the meaning of Jargon English items can be quite different from that of their English etymons. Hall (1966:91) remarks:

> The essential process involved in such extensions of meaning ... is that the native hears a given word which to the European has certain connotations, and then the native sees as primary in the situation certain other characteristics that to the European seem secondary.

Misunderstandings resulting from differences in semantic information in the lexicon of individual speakers are reported by a number of writers, for instance, Belshaw (1954:34):

> The word "buy", for instance, does not mean the transfer of ownership, but any transfer whether by gift, sale, loan or hire.[3] Similarly, when once transactions of this sort had become customary, the meaning of the word "steal" in the pidgin vocabulary extended to include situations in which labour ran away from villages and no compensation was made to relatives for its absence. Similarly, the word "boy" in pidgin means males of any age above childhood (when they were "picannin"), including

> old men, especially if they were in employment. A native might mean nothing serious when he said that a vessel off the coast endeavoured to buy boys, and that when they failed some were stolen. Yet a visitor, a missionary or naval captain, might visualize an extreme situation.

In addition, idiolectal or group differences regarding semantic information were enhanced by the vagueness of meaning found with many lexical items. To use Jargon English to discuss topics outside its usual range was hardly possible.

4.2.2.5. Lexical Expansion in Jargon English

The lexical inventory of Jargon English, though extremely restricted, sufficed as the basis of verbal interaction in the equally restricted situational contexts in which it was used. It appears that when new expressions were needed they were borrowed from either English or a local vernacular since mechanisms for the expansion of the lexicon from internal resources were nearly always absent. Even such a basic mechanism as circumlocution, vigorously present during the development of more stable pidgins, is not really documented for Pacific Jargon English. No traces whatsoever of a productive derivational lexicon are found.

The dependence on outside sources for structural enrichment of any kind can be regarded as the linguistic equivalent of the dependence of these jargons for their survival on the continuation of the social context in which they were used. It is in this sense that one can refer to a jargon as a 'parasitic system' without any life of its own (cf. Samarin 1971:120).

4.3. THE LEXICON OF STABILISED NGP

4.3.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The notion of stabilisation of a pidgin language refers to its becoming a linguistic system separate from its lexifier languages and the first language of its users. Stabilisation in the lexical component is manifested i) in the development of socially sanctioned conventions about lexical information, ii) the reappearance of lexical structure, and iii) the use of stable syntax as a means of deriving new lexical items. Although additions to the lexical inventory do occur, they filter slowly into the language without causing severe structural disruption or major changes in lexical organisation. The main function of lexical additions is to consolidate the pidgin as a means of communication in a relatively narrow field of interlingual contacts.

The stabilisation of NGP must be regarded not as a sudden event but as a continuing process, starting with the stabilisation of SPP on the Samoan plantations and culminating in the crystallisation of a flexible and stable lingua franca spoken throughout German New Guinea. The lexicon which developed during this period derived its separate identity from the impact of Tolai and German and, to a lesser degree, Malay and Samoan, which replaced English in NGP's principal lexifier languages. Borrowing from these sources[1] not only contributed to a mixed lexical inventory but also to the development of certain lexical structures specific to the grammar of NGP.

The analysis of the lexicon of stabilised NGP is based on lexical materials culled from texts, quotations and unpublished vocabularies as well as an investigation of the lexicon used by plantation workers left in Samoa after World War I.

Finally, it must be added that the term 'stabilised NGP' refers to a stage in its linguistic development, rather than being a descriptive label for any stable variety of this language. Many of the structures which developed during this stage are found in present-day varieties of NGP, particularly in Rural Pidgin, which differs from the stabilised NGP found at the beginning of this century in that it exhibits some replacements of and additions to its lexical inventory and derivational lexicon.

4.3.2. *THE LEXICAL INVENTORY*

4.3.2.1. The Sources of the Lexical Inventory

4.3.2.1.1. *SPP and the Lexical Inventory of NGP*

Though there is a considerable amount of external evidence that NGP is closely related to, and possibly a direct development of SPP, the linguistic evidence to support this claim is much less readily available. Though it is true that the lexical properties shared by SPP and NGP set apart these two pidgins from other varieties of Pacific Pidgin English, the direction of borrowing for many items is difficult to establish.

The employment of many Bismarck Islanders on the Samoan plantations after 1883 is reflected by the presence in SPP of a number of lexical items originating from Tolai or related languages. Workers recruited

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[1] With regard to some of these sources Lewis (1951:42-3) remarks: "Many native and many Malay words were introduced to help out the small vocabulary of English words, for, as they seldom or never heard English, they could not draw from that source." In the light of this remark it seems strange that Lewis maintains that not a single word of German origin is found in NGP.

from parts of German New Guinea other than the area around the Duke of Yorks may have learnt some of these items in Samoa and, on their return, spread them to new areas in New Guinea. For instance, Bishop (1900:22) reports the use of tambaran *'devil'* in the British Solomon Islands. Items shared by SPP and NGP include:

SPP	NGP	Gloss
taberan	tambaran	*'ghost, spirit'*
muruk	muruk	*'cassowary'*
pukpuk	pukpuk	*'crocodile'*
kakaruk	kakaruk	*'chicken, rooster'*
matmat	matmat	*'cemetery'*

Several Samoan words in NGP are most likely the result of employment of workers from German New Guinea in Samoa, rather than, as has been suggested, originating "through the Samoan wives of early German settlers" (Wedgwood 1954:784). They include:[1]

NGP	From Samoan	Gloss
laplap	lavalava	*'loincloth'*
lotu	lotu	*'church, worship'*
kamda	kamuta	*'carpenter'*
popi	popi	*'Catholic'*
malolo	malolo	*'to rest, have time off'*

Other items of Samoan or Polynesian origin are found in other varieties of Pacific Pidgin English, indicating that items were current before the stabilisation of separate pidgins. These include kaikai *'food'*, kanaka[2] *'native'*, and bulmakau *'cattle'*.

A number of lexical items shared by SPP and NGP show semantic properties which are not found in other Melanesian varieties of Pacific Pidgin English. However, in view of the scarcity of data the following table must be regarded as tentative only:

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[1] Malolo *'to stroll, rest'* is not of Gazelle origin as suggested by Mihalic (1971:127). The item bulmakau *'cattle'* is also reported for Solomon Islands Pidgin. This may reflect the employment of numerous Solomon Islanders on the Samoan plantations. Finally, the item lotu is of Tongan origin, but was probably an established loanword in Samoan in the 1870s. It may have been brought to the Bismarck Archipelago by Samoan missionaries.

[2] Mihalic's explanation (1973:8) that kanaka is derived from *'cane hacker'*, reflecting the influence of Queensland sugar plantation Pidgin English on NGP, is highly unlikely.

Item	Meaning of NGP and SPP	Meaning of other varieties of Pacific (Melanesian) Pidgin
as	*'arse, stump of a tree'*	*'arse, buttocks'*
belo	*'bell, noon'*	*'bell'*
bris	*'bridge, wharf'*	*'bridge'*
snek	*'snake, worm, caterpillar'*	*'snake'*
kuk	*'cook, be defeated'*	*'cook'*
nating	bun nating: *'skinny'*	not used in this meaning
subim	subim wara: *'to swim'*	not used in this meaning
holimpas	*'hold, rape'*	*'hold'*
nuboi	*'newly indentured worker'*	not used, instead nusam[1]

The author has shown elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1976b:122-5) that there were also some lexical differences between SPP and NGP, due mainly to the heavier reliance of SPP on Samoan loans for lexical expansion.

4.3.2.1.2. *Borrowing from Tolai and other Local Vernaculars*

Borrowing from native vernaculars, in particular Tolai and other languages from the New Britain and New Ireland areas, played an important part in the development of a stable basic vocabulary of NGP. With regard to the influence of Tolai and related languages Nevermann (1929: 253) observes:

> The influence of this native language on the formation of Pidgin can be explained by the fact that in its sphere of influence the first plantations and government and trading posts were set up, for instance, in Mioko, Herbertshöhe, Kerewara, Matupi and Ralum.
>
> (author's translation)

No exhaustive study of the Tolai element in NGP has been made to date, but two studies are in preparation (Mosel 1979 and Walsh 1978) which will no doubt provide a number of important insights. The discussion in the present subsection is based both on original research by the author and on numerous observations by earlier writers. The weakness most prominent in these earlier analyses is the lack of a clearcut distinction between words of definite Tolai origin, words with possible multiple etymologies, and words borrowed from other languages. There is a marked tendency among earlier writers to subsume all these categories under one common denominator "words of non-European origin" (e.g. Hall 1943a:193).

[1] Nusam is heard only very infrequently in NGP. Its presence in some regional dialects may reflect the influence of Queensland Plantation Pidgin. Since nusam often refers to a troublesome rather than inexperienced person, it may have been derived from *'nuisance'* rather than *'new chum'*.

An early source which does not resort to this simplification of presentation is that of Nevermann (1929:253):

> Therefore a number of words from the Gazelle language occur in this lingua franca in unchanged form. These include: murup 'cassowary', kiau 'egg', kapul 'possum', pukpuk 'crocodile', limlibur 'to stroll, be unoccupied', taberan 'devil, bush-spirit', davai 'tree', longlong 'mad'; From the related languages of New Ireland and the Duke of Yorks we have: liklik 'little', päkpäke[1] 'faeces', etc.
>
> (author's translation)

Reed (1943:275-6) provides a more extensive but not quite reliable[2] list of items borrowed from Tolai, remarking that these "now enjoy Territory-wide acceptance". The spelling used in the following list is that provided by Reed:

NGP	Gloss
baira	*'hoe'*
balus	*'pigeon'*
bembe	*'butterfly'*
biruwa	*'enemy'*
bung	*'market'*
bui	*'areca nut'*
diwai	*'tree'*
karamut	*'wooden gong'*
kulau	*'unripe coconut'*
kuria	*'earth tremor'*
kwalip	*'edible nut'*
liklik	*'small'*
luluai	*'war leader'*
meri	*'woman'*
marimari	*'to care for'*
marsalai	*'evil spirit'*
pato	*'duck'*
pipia	*'rubbish'*
pukpuk	*'crocodile'*
purpur	*'flower'*
tambaran	*'ghost'*
ubian	*'fish net'*

[1] A strange etymology for pekpek is given by Aufinger (1949:118, fn.17): "The word "bekbek" for defecation is probably derived from the habit of the natives along the beach to ease themselves along the water-line, thus forming a line of many backs, expressed by the reduplication "bekbek".

[2] The origin of the word pato *'duck'*, for instance, is not quite clear. The most likely explanation is that it is a Portuguese word which entered NGP via Coastal Malay, an observation supported by reports mentioning a form batok (Friederici 1911:102). For the item meri *'woman'* and liklik *'small'* multiple derivation from both English and Tolai may have been involved.

Whilst a large proportion of local vocabulary in NGP can be traced back to Tolai and the closely related languages of the Duke of York Islands and southern New Ireland, little is known about the influence of other languages spoken in the Bismarck Archipelago. Of particular interest would be a study of loans which have surface reflexes not only in Tolai but also in a number of other languages. There are good reasons to expect that widely known lexical items stood a better chance of being borrowed than items which were particular to Tolai only.

Borrowing from languages spoken on the New Guinea mainland, on the other hand, is very restricted. The handful of examples found include katamot *'naked'* and sumatin *'student'* from Tumleo, and sanguma *'secret murder'* from the Monumbo language spoken near Bogia. This may be taken as an indication that the lexical inventory of NGP needed for cross-tribal communication was sufficiently developed by 1900, i.e. the date after which it grew in importance on the New Guinea mainland.

On the whole, the influence of local languages on the development of a stable NGP was considerable. In fact, the very high percentage of native vocabulary sets NGP apart from other pidgins with European lexical affiliation, as observed by Hall (1966:94):

> The proportion of words from other than the source language varies from one pidgin or creole to the next. The highest percentage of words from native (substratum) languages that I have come across so far is in Neo-Melanesian, where such words form perhaps 20 per cent of the total vocabulary.

Lexical items of local origin are not equally represented in all semantic areas, but are found primarily in the following ones:

i) names of animals:

NGP	Gloss
kindam	*'crayfish'*
maleo	*'eel'*
kina	*'mussel'*
talai	*'sardine'*
bembe	*'butterfly'*
kapul	*'possum'*
palai	*'lizard'*
natnat	*'mosquito'*
muruk	*'cassowary'*

ii) names for plants:

NGP	Gloss
diwai	*'tree'*
pulpul	*'flower, herb'*
kunai	*'(thatch, alang-alang) grass'*
buai	*'betelnut'*
kwila	*'ironwood'*

iii) cultural items and concepts:

NGP	Gloss
kalang	*'earring'*
dukduk	*'ceremonial headdress worn by members of a secret society'*
tambaran	*'(evil) spirit'*
tumbuan	*'wooden dance mask'*

Further examples can be found in the section 'Practical word-groups' in Mihalic's dictionary (1971:333-75).

The distribution of lexical items of local origin in the lexicon of stabilised NGP can be approached from yet another point of view, as suggested by Frake (1971:223-43) and Molony (1973:10-1). Thus, such items typically are semantically more 'marked' than items of European origin, their markedness being a function of their complex semantic content, since they are specific rather than general terms, and their referring to dimensions such as "lesser magnitude, shorter distance, worse evaluation, female sex, younger generation, or plurality." (Frake 1971:232). This is illustrated in the following brief list:

Unmarked item		Marked item	
go	*'to go'*	limlimbur	*'to stroll'*
pisin	*'bird'*	balus	*'pigeon'*
		kumul	*'bird of paradise'*
		tarangau	*'eagle'*
kokonas	*'coconut'*	kulau	*'drinking nut'*
win	*'wind'*	bunim	*'north wind'*
		taleo	*'northwest wind'*
		rai	*'southeast trade wind'*
gras	*'hair'*	kori	*'receding hair'*
rait	*'right'*	kais	*'left'*
paip	*'pipe'*	baubau	*'native pipe'*

With regard to innovations from local sources two further points need to be considered, first the distinction between addition and replacement and second the distinction between spontaneous growth and language planning.

It appears that most loans are genuine additions to the highly restricted list of lexical bases found in Jargon English and early stabilised SPP or NGP, reflecting the expansion of NGP's functions. However, a number of these items can be shown to be replacements of some of the unwieldy circumlocutions found during the early stage of NGP's stabilisation. Examples of this type are the replacement of pickanninny stop along him fellow (example from Churchill 1911) *'egg'* by kiau, or small fellow something he go belong bush (example in Schnee 1904:303) *'crab'* by kuka.

A further distinction to be considered is that between spontaneous and planned growth. A fair number of Tolai and other Melanesian words have come into NGP during its stabilisation as the result of government and mission efforts. On the government side one finds the adoption of the terms luluai *'village or tribal chief'* and kukurai *'tribal chief appointed as native judge'*, referring to positions in the administrative hierarchy created by the German colonial administration. Even more numerous are the efforts by missions in the New Guinea Islands, particularly the Catholic missions in the Rabaul area, to vest native words with new doctrinal meaning. Examples are:[1]

NGP lexical item	Meaning in source language	Doctrinal meaning
tambu	*'taboo'*	*'holy'*
ruru	*'to fear, respect'*	*'to honour'*
vinamut	*'silence, peace'*	*'retreat'*
vartovo	*'teach, lesson'*	*'doctrine'*
tematan	*'member of a different tribe'*	*'heathen'*
kurkurua	*'beads, necklace'*	*'rosary'*

Whilst lexical borrowing from local vernaculars is closely associated with NGP's stabilisation, it continued to be of some importance for the subsequent growth of its lexical inventory (cf. subsection 4.4.2.2.).

4.3.2.1.3. *The Malay Element in NGP's Lexicon*

The presence of lexical items of Malay origin reflects the brief period of time during which Coastal Malay was the lingua franca of the plantations on the New Guinea mainland. With the decline of the Malay population and the employment of Melanesian labourers, NGP rapidly

[1] A number of additional examples of this kind of mission vocabulary planning can be found in an appendix to Kutscher's dictionary (n.d.:139-47).

gained ground after 1900. Biskup (1974:99) remarks on the brief impact of Malay presence: "They had left behind a style of architechture which can be described as Dutch East Indian, and had enriched Pidgin with such words as mambu, kanda, and sayor." Reed (1943:277) provided a short list of items of Malay origin, containing:

NGP	Gloss
karabau	*'water-buffalo'*
kapok	*'the kapok tree and its fibres'*
klambu	*'mosquito net'*
krani	*'clerk; Malay worker'*
mambu	*'bamboo'*
mandor	*'overseer'*
pinatang	*'insect'*
sayor	*'leaf vegetable'*
tandok	*'signal'*
tiang	*'post'*

Only a handful of items can be added to this list:

NGP	Gloss
lombo	*'red pepper'*
bliong	*'hatchet'*
baret	*'ditch, groove'*
kasang	*'peanut'*
kambing	*'sheep, goat'*

A number of these items, including tandok, mandor, and bliong, appear to have remained restricted to some areas on the New Guinea mainland, whilst others, including baret and lombo, have gained wide currency. Roosman (1975:229-34) mentions a large number of additional items which he assumes to represent the Malay element in NGP. However, on closer examination, these claims appear very doubtful. If the socio-economic context of the origin and stabilisation of NGP is taken into consideration, a Melanesian origin for most of these items is much more likely. In some cases similarity of form and meaning of a Malay and Tolai item may have contributed to its adoption in NGP. Some examples have been discussed by Roosman (1975:232).

4.3.2.1.4. *The German Element in NGP's Lexicon*

The common opinion about the influence of German on the lexicon of NGP is that it was minimal. This view is expressed in quotations such as:

> From German land hunger, from the Iron Chancellor's dream of a colonial empire, the Beach-la-mar derives but the solitary specimen of rauss, the mutilated fragment of heraus.
>
> (Churchill 1911:30)

> It is interesting to note that, while many "boys" could understand a certain amount of German, not a single German word, so far as I know, was ever taken into the regular 'pidgin'.
>
> (Lewis 1932:37)

> Only raus (heraus), hauman (Hauptmann) and mark (shilling) recall German influence.
>
> (Reinecke 1937:744)

Among English speaking writers who acknowledge a more sizeable influence of German are Hall (1943a:194 and 1955a:34) and Reed (1943: 276-7). Comments on NGP by German writers usually include some reference to the presence of a number of German words, though none of the sources consulted by the author contains a commitment to precise numbers.[1]

The limited knowledge about the influence of German on NGP is reflected not only in incomplete listing of items of German origin, but also in that words of German origin are not recognised as such or else that a German origin is mistakenly attributed to items from other sources. The first type of error is evident in cases such as pui *'naked'* which is ascribed by Mihalic (1971:161) to the Tolai language, whereas in fact there appears to be no Tolai cognate; a likely source of this item is German *pfui 'exclamation of disapproval'*, reflecting the narrow views of the early missionaries and settlers. The German origin of other items has become disguised as a result of phonological and morphological restructuring. Winrok *'slip, petticoat'* is derived from German *Unterrock* and sutman *'constable'* from German *Schutzmann*. However, sut is now interpreted as *'to shoot'* rather than *Schutz 'protection'* which, as with pui, opens interesting sociolinguistic perspectives.

The second type of error is manifested in statements such as: "Shillings are still 'marks' and the native market is the 'bunt', but beyond those there are few German words" (Shelton Smith in the *Rabaul Times*, 24 May 1929). In fact the item for *'market'* in NGP is bung, a loan from Tolai. A derivation from German *bunt 'colourful'* or *Bund 'league, alliance'* is unlikely. Again, Mihalic's assertions (in his 1971 dictionary) that senkelboi *'unmarried "boy" living off the*

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[1] A typical statement is: "Pidgin is a mixture of the Melanesian, English, and German vocabulary. The names for tools and practical things were taken from the German language." (Rossa 1972:34; author's translation)

community' is related to German *schenken 'to give a present'* and maski *'never mind'* to German *macht nichts 'it doesn't matter'* are extremely dubious. Instead, the writer suggests that senkelboi is simply a variant of sinkelboi *'single boy'* and that maski is probably related to either Chinese Pidgin English or Coastal Malay (cf. Reinecke 1937: 751 and 765, and Boshoff and Nienaber 1967:133). A last item which has frequently been ascribed to German origin is salat *'stinging nettle'*; however a Melanesian origin seems more likely than a derivation from German *Salat 'lettuce'*.

An important reason why German influence has frequently been underestimated is that a large number of lexical bases in NGP can be derived with equal plausibility from English or German, the items in question being the result of literal combination or conflation. This point will be dealt with below (4.3.2.3.).

Fieldwork in areas which had been under German control and observation of the speech of informants who had learnt NGP in German times have convinced the present writer that the impact of German on the NGP lexicon has been grossly underestimated. His findings from fieldwork in the Sepik Provinces and the Rabaul area in 1973/74 are contained in a preliminary article on this topic (Mühlhäusler 1975d:94-111). Additional fieldwork in the Madang Province and New Britain as well as an examination of a number of unpublished vocabularies in 1974 and 1975 suggest that the impact of German was even stronger than postulated in this original article.

At the time the Germans took possession of New Guinea the total number of lexical items in NGP as spoken in the Blanche Bay area probably did not exceed 300, i.e. the minimum needed in the plantation context.[1] However, with NGP coming to be used in a number of new situations, the need for lexical expansion was an urgent one. Whilst NGP's use as a medium for the discussion of local customs and the natural environment led to a large inflow of loans from local languages, its use by the administration, by some missions, and by most of the settlers resulted in the adoption of German-derived names for objects and concepts introduced by the German colonisers.[2]

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[1] This point has also been made by Reed (1943:276): "... pidgin had achieved, by the time of German annexation, a sufficient vocabulary for expressing most of the needs and commands used in the indentured labour relation."

[2] In contrast, Pidgin English spoken in another former German colony, the Cameroons, exhibits virtually no borrowing from German (cf. Hagen 1910). This may be taken as an indication that Pidgin English spoken in West Africa had reached a higher degree of lexical sophistication than that spoken in the area of German New Guinea.

A distinction has to be made between *ad hoc* loans and loans which gained wider currency. The fact that almost 150 items of German origin were found by the author to be listed in various dictionaries and vocabularies compiled after the termination of German control indicates a fair degree of institutionalisation of these loans. Here follows an exhaustive list of lexical items of German origin, arranged in semantic groups. For each item, no more than three sources are given, for which the following abbreviations are used:

BR = Brenninkmeyer (1924)
CH = Churchill (1911)
DA = Dahmen (1957)
H43 = Hall (1943b)
H55 = Hall (1955a)
H56 = Hall (1956a)
H59 = Hall (1959)
H66 = Hall (1966)
KU = Kutscher (n.d.)
BO = Borchardt (1930)
M57 = Mihalic (1957)
M71 = Mihalic (1971)
SM = Schebesta and Meiser (1945)
ST = Steinbauer (1969)
VB = van Baar (n.d.)
WR = *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.)

Otherwise, either the author and the year of the publication from which an item was culled, or the locality where it was found by the author during fieldwork between 1972 and 1974, will be provided. The spelling of all items is based on the principles laid down in the *Standard Neo-Melanesian Orthography* (1956). Of the above sources those of Brenninkmeyer, Borchardt, Dahmen and Kutscher represent the use of NGP in the New Guinea Islands, particularly New Britain and Manus, whereas those of Schebesta amd Meiser, van Baar and the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* reflect the mainland variety of NGP. Items listed by Steinbauer (1969), Dahmen (1957) and Mihalic (1971) are still widely used in areas of former German control.

NGP	From German	Source	English
i) terms for building, carpentry and new crafts			
ambos	*Amboss*	SM,M57	*'anvil'*
bank	*Bank*	WR,SM,M71	*'bench, pew'*
baisange	*Beisszange*	Ali,Manus	*'pinchers'*
bigelaisen	*Bügeleisen*	Ali	*'flat-iron'*
borim	*bohren*	SM,M71	*'to drill something'*
ele	*Elle*	Ali	*'yardstick'*
faden	*Faden*	Ali	*'thread'*
gumi	*Gummi*	ST,M71	*'rubber, tube'*
harke	*Harke*	WR	*'rake'*
hobel	*Hobel*	ST,M71	*'plane'*
kail	*Keil*	DA,ST,M71	*'wedge'*
kele	*Kelle*	M57,M71	*'trowel'*
kit	*Kitt*	ST,M71	*'putty'*
klama	*Klammer*	SM,Smythe(n.d.)	*'clamp'*
kupus	*Kuhfuss*	KU,BR	*'crowbar'*
laim	*Leim*	ST,M71	*'glue'*
laten	*Latten*	WR	*'batten, board'*
maisil	*Meissel*	DA,M71	*'chisel'*
meta	*Meter (das)*	ST,M71	*'yardstick'*
nit	*Niete*	KU	*'rivet'*
pendel	*Pendel*	KU	*'pendulum'*
reken	*Rechen*	WR	*'rake'*
sapfen	*Zapfen*	KU	*'pin, pivot'*
sange	*Zange*	H56,KU,DA	*'pliers'*
sere	*Schere*	Ali,Alexishafen	*'scissors'*
sikmel	*Sägmehl*	Vunapope	*'sawdust'*
slos	*Schloss*	Dagua,Manus	*'padlock'*
spais	*Speis*	BR	*'mortar, cement'*
sparen	*Sparren*	Dagus,M71	*'rafter'*
swinge	*Zwinge*	Manus,M71	*'clamp'*
supkar	*Schubkarre*	ST,M71	*'wheelbarrow'*
ter	*Teer*	WR	*'tar'*
wasawage	*Wasserwaage*	Vunapope,Dagua	*'water-level'*

ii) school-room terms

The German numbers 1-10 were known to many of the author's older informants on the New Guinea mainland. Other loans include:

NGP	From German	Source	English
abese	*ABC*	Ali	*'a,b,c'*
balaistip[1]	*Bleistift*	BR,DA,M57	*'lead-pencil'*
bilt	*Bild*	WR	*'picture'*
blok	*Block*	Manus	*'pad of paper'*
gripel	*Griffel*	DA,ST,M71	*'slate-pencil'*
karaide	*Kreide*	KU,DA,ST	*'chalk'*
malen[2]	*malen*	ST,M71	*'to paint, draw'*
nul	*Null*	DA	*'zero'*
peder	*Feder*	DA	*'pen'*
punk	*Punkt*	DA,KU	*'full stop, point'*
singen[2]	*singen*	WR,M71	*'to sing'*
sule	*Schule*	Ali,Vunapope	*'school'*
stima	*Stimme*	SM	*'melody, tune'*
strafe	*Strafe*	ST,M71	*'punishment'*
tafel	*Tafel*	DA,KU,Manus	*'blackboard'*
tinte	*Tinte*	DA,BO	*'ink'*
tok doits	*Deutsch*	Dagua,Ali,Manus	*'German language'*
iii) terms used in the domestic context			
ananas	*Ananas*	ST,M71	*'pineapple'*
auto	*Auto*	Ali,Manus	*'motor car'*
bonen	*Bohnen*	BR,DA,BO	*'beans'*
buter	*Butter*	BR,DA,WR	*'butter, avodaco'*
dose	*Dose*	Ali	*'tin, box'*
esik	*Essig*	DA,ST,M71	*'vinegar'*
gabel	*Gabel*	BR,KU,H56	*'fork'*
guruken	*Gurken*	BR,DA,Rabaul	*'cucumber'*
hebsen	*Erbsen*	KU,ST,M71	*'peas'*
kane	*Kanne*	WR	*'jug'*
katopel	*Kartoffel*	Ali,Vunapope	*'potato'*
kese	*Käse*	DA	*'cheese'*
kuken	*Kuchen*	KU,DA	*'cake'*
malsait	*Mahlzeit*	Krämer-Bannow 1916	*"bon appetit"*
puskoman	*Putzpomade*	WR,DA	*'boot polish'*

[1]This item is still used in many areas but now refers to plastic ballpoints rather than lead pencils. The accidental similarity of German *Bleistift* to English *'plastic'* appears to have promoted the continued use of this item.

[2]The use of the infinitive form of the German verb may be an indication that these forms were borrowed via the foreigner talk register of German rather than ordinary German (cf. Clyne 1968:132).

NGP	From German	Source	English
saitung	*Zeitung*	BR,DA	*'newspaper'*
sarang	*Schrank*	H59,M71	*'cupboard, shelf'*
sim	*Zimt*	KU	*'cinnamon'*
sirsen	*Kirschen*	M57,M71	*'cherries'*
soken	*Socken*	ST,M71	*'socks'*
spaisesima	*Speisezimmer*	Ali	*'dining room'*
spigel	*Spiegel*	Ali,Manus	*'mirror'*
spinat	*Spinat*	SM,VB	*'spinach'*
tepik	*Teppich*	KU,M71	*'carpet, rug'*
iv) mission and doctrinal terms			
baikten	*beichten*	Ali,Dagua,WR	*'to confess'*
balsam	*Balsam*	DA,WR	*'balm'*
beten	*beten*	ST,M71	*'to pray'*
bruder	*Bruder*	ST,M71	*'religious Brother'*
buse	*Busse*	SM,VB,WR	*'penance'*
eremit	*Eremit*	DA	*'hermit'*
grisgot	*Grüss Gott*	WR,M71	*'bless you'*
haiten	*Heiden*	ST,M71	*'heathen'*
kapela	*Kapelle*	SM,WR	*'chapel'*
kelek	*Kelch*	KU	*'chalice'*
kirke	*Kirche*	Dagua,WR	*'church'*
ministran	*Ministrant*	SM,WR	*'choir boy'*
palmen	*Palmen*	M57,M71	*'palm tree'*
pater	*Pater*	ST,M71	*'religious Father'*
pirista	*Priester*	BR,BO	*'priest'*
segen	*Segen*	SM,WR,Dagua	*'blessing'*
svesta	*Schwester*	DA,Dagua,Manus	*'religious Sister'*
vairau	*Weihrauch*	KU,DA	*'incense'*
v) terms used in the police force			
gever	*Gewehr*	SM,H66,Ali	*'rifle'*
hauman	*Hauptmann*	Detzner 1921,Reinecke 1937	*'captain'*
kostik	*Kopfstück*	H56,M71	*'bridle'*
popaia	*vorbei*	ST,M71	*'to miss (target)'*
ros	*Ross*	WR	*'horse'*
sadel	*Sattel*	SM,M71	*'saddle'*
selban	*Zeltbahn*	SM	*'large canvas'*
senkipia	*Seitengewehr*	BR	*'side-arm'*
sutman	*Schutzmann*	Reed 1943,DA	*'costable, guard'*

NGP	From German	Source	English
vi) commands and terms of abuse			
donabeta	*Donnerwetter*	KU,DA,Vogel 1911	*'blast!'*
donakail	*Donnerkeil*	KU,DA	*'blast!'*
dumekerl	*dummer Kerl*	Manus	*'stupid fool!'*
dumkop	*Dummkopf*	Angoram,Dagua	*'idiot!'*
haltmunt	*halt den Mund*	Reed 1943,Manus	*'shut up!'*
javol	*jawohl*	BR,BO	*'yes!'*
pasmalauf	*pass mal auf*	Reed 1943,Ali	*'take care!'*
papelu	*verflucht*	SM,H66,WR	*'damn!'*
raus	*raus*	ST,M71	*'get out!'*
rintfi	*Rindvieh*	Ali,Manus	*'cattle!'*
saise	*scheisse*	Ali,Manus,Dagua	*'shit!'*
sapkop	*Schafskopf*	Ali,Marienberg	*'sheep brained idiot!'*
sisan	*stillgestanden*	BR,WR	*'stand still!'*
vii) nautical terms			
bakabor	*Backbord*	Reed 1943,WR	*'port side'*
kiliva	*Klüver*	KU,DA,M71	*'jib sail'*
kuter	*Kutter*	SM	*'cutter'*
sluk	*Schluck*	H43	*'whirlpool'*
viii) certain names of animals			
bifel	*Büffel*	H55,SM,WR	*'buffalo'*
binen	*Bienen*	ST,M71	*'bees'*
esel	*Esel*	H56,M57,ST	*'donkey'*
fros	*Frosch*	WR	*'frog'*
kakalak	*Kakerlake*	ST,M71	*'cockroach'*
kamel	*Kamel*	DA,ST	*'camel'*
lewe	*Löwe*	KU	*'lion'*
ix) terms belonging to other semantic fields			
akas	*Akazie*	SM,M57	*'acacia'*
bensin	*Benzin*	BO	*'petrol'*
bogen	*Bogen*	KU,M71	*'arch'*
boksen	*boxen*	DA,ST,M71	*'to box'*
brait	*breit*	ST,M71	*'wide, width'*
brus, bros	*Brust*	H66,M57,WR	*'chest'*
doktal	*Dr Hahl*	Stephan and Graebner 1907	*'the German governor Dr Hahl'*
gip	*Gift*	M57,M71	*'poison'*
kapsel	*Kapsel*	KU	*'capsule'*
kaputim	*kaputt*	Smythe(n.d.)	*'to ruin'*
kaisa	*Kaiser*	WR,Ali,Rabaul	*'emperor'*

NGP	From German	Source	English
kle	*Klee*	KU	*'clover'*
krum	*krumm*	SM,M71	*'bent, crooked'*
langsam	*langsam*	H56,DA,KU	*'to go slow, slow'*
lepra	*Lepra*	M71	*'leprosy'*
links	*links*	H43,M57	*'left (side)'*
lupsip	*Luftschiff*	Ali	*'aeroplane'*
mak	*Mark*	SM,M71	*'mark, shilling'*
milis	*Milch*	SM,M71	*'coconut milk, semen'*
nets	*Netz*	WR	*'fishing net'*
pui	*pfui*	M71	*'naked'*
ros	*Rost*	ST,M71	*'rust'*
sreg	*schräg*	WR	*'sloping, oblique'*
stange	*Stange*	Ali	*'tobacco stick'*
surik	*zurück*	ST,M71	*'to flinch back'*
tais	*Teich*	ST,M71	*'pond, swamp'*
trip	*Trieb*	ST,M71	*'sprout'*
turm	*Turm*	Angoram,Ali	*'tower'*
yot	*Jod*	SM,ST	*'iodine'*

Further remarks about the German influence on NGP have been made by Mühlhäusler (1975c and 1975d).

Having considered the sources of replenishment for the lexical inventory, the author will now deal with some linguistic aspects of these lexical bases.

4.3.2.2. Lexical Information in Stabilised NGP

4.3.2.2.1. *Introduction*

Stabilisation in the lexicon can be regarded as the reversal of the processes found during the breaking down of the lexifier language. Thus stabilisation implies:

i) A gradual increase in the amount of lexical information accommodated with individual lexical bases, this new information being attributable to a number of sources.

ii) The development of stable norms for the syntactic and semantic, and to a lesser degree phonological, information found with lexical bases.

At the same time new additions to the lexical inventory of NGP undergo similar processes of lexical information restructuring. An investigation of these processes demonstrates the impact of the external setting

of NGP on its linguistic structure. As a result of the virtual withdrawal of English as the lexifier and target language, the restructuring of lexical information at all levels is most noticeable in lexical items of English origin. The vigorous presence of German and Tolai during stabilisation, on the other hand, is responsible for the relatively small amount of change in lexical information found with items borrowed from these sources.

4.3.2.2.2. *Restructuring of Phonological Information*

The stabilisation of NGP is least felt at the phonological level (cf. Kay and Sankoff 1974:63). Variation in phonology results from differences in the phonemic inventory of different speakers and from the transfer of certain phonetic habits from a speaker's native language. In spite of the variations found, a number of conventions about the most acceptable pronunciation begin to emerge in this period.

The differences in canonical shape manifest themselves in a number of ways. As an exhaustive account of all possible differences cannot be given here, some of the most important ones will be pointed out:[1]

i) Differences resulting from discrepancies in the respective phonemic inventories of sounds

Typically the relationship between NGP and English sounds is one of one to many, as is manifested, for instance, in the behaviour of the following initial consonants. Thus, English /s/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, are all realised as NGP /s/:

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[1] The following letter written by Tividele from New Hanover provides an interesting example of some of the processes of phonological restructuring found during NGP's stabilisation stage (quoted from *Koloniale Rundschau*, vol.4, 1912:504-5):

original spelling

> Tividele mi ispikiu log mani bolog mi log tain bolog mi pipo. I pinis (25) tupala ten mun na paip. Mi laik pabai iu givemi log en, papai mi kam bek. Mi vok mani bolog paim samtig bolog mi, samtig bolog mi istip log pepa pipo mi kissim. I pinis tasol. Tasol me tokimiu log gem i pinis. Pos you no laik, iu givimi tupaon bolog paim samtig. Mi nogot samtig bolog go peles, papai mi givim kandereman bolog mi log peles. Mi tokin olosem mi laik save tok bolog iu. Namem iu no kan givim mi olosem. I pinis. Gutbai mi go. Siara mi go log gem.

modified spelling given in quotation

> Tividele me speak you belong money belong me long time belong me before. I finish (25) two fellow ten moon now five. Me like by and bye you give him me belong him, by and bye me come back. Me work money belong pay something belong me something belong me he stop belong paper before, me catch him. I finish, this is all. That is all me talk him you belong him I finish. Suppose you no like, you give him me 2 pound belong pay him something. Me no got something belong go place, by and bye me give him country-men belong me belong place. Me talk you all the same, me like save talk belong you. Nevermind you no can give him me, all the same. I finish. Good bye me go. Siara me go belong him.

English	Stable NGP
'sun'	san
'shame'	sem
'chalk'	sok

As a distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants is generally not made, English /ð/ and /θ/ are realised as /t/ in NGP, as in tingting *'think'* and tisfela from *'this fellow'*. English */p/*, */b/* and */f/* are typically subsumed under the phoneme /p/ in NGP: paun *'pound'*, pipo *'before'* and param *'fathom'*. A more detailed account of such regular correspondences between English and NGP sounds is given by Laycock (1970a:xii-xvi).

The main difficulty experienced with German loanwords was the 'guttural' sound [ç] which is restructured as either [s] or [k] as in

German	NGP	Gloss
beichten	baisten, baikten	*'to confess'*
Kirche	kirke	*'church'*
Rechen	reken	*'rake'*

ii) Reduction or splitting of consonant clusters

Simplification of consonant clusters found in NGP's lexifier languages resulted either in the loss of one of the members of the cluster or in the insertion of epenthetic vowels between the consonants in question.

Examples of the former kind are most commonly found in word-final clusters as, for instance in: ailan *'island'*, bis *'beads'*, pren *'friend'*, pain-im *'to find'*, brus *'chest'* (from German *Brust*) or dumkop *'idiot'* (from German *Dummkopf*).

Epenthetic vowels[1] appear mainly in initial clusters such as in: pilai *'to play'*, palai *'to fly'*, bilas *'flash'*, birok *'frog'*, siparam *'rafter'* (from German *Sparren*) or kiliva *'jib sail'* (from German *Klüver*).

iii) Unitary treatment of stress

The various stress rules found in NGP's lexifier languages have become simplified in stabilised NGP, where the rule that words are stressed on the first syllable operates with few exceptions.

iv) Other changes in phonological information

Keeping in mind the adverse learning conditions under which the borrowed lexicon was acquired and the fact that speakers from many

[1] A detailed discussion of epenthetic vowels in NGP has been given by Pawley (1975: 215-28).

vernaculars were involved in the initial learning situation, one cannot expect fully regular sound correspondences.

Some examples of less rule-governed phonological changes are illustrated in the following NGP bases: bilinat from *'betelnut'*, pundaun from *'to fall down'*, sasait from *'to exercise'*, krut from *'recruit'*, blara from *'umbrella'*, sinatong from *'chinatown'*, inining from *'evening'*, rere from *'ready'*, muruk *'cassowary'* from Tolai murup, popaia *'to miss'* from German *vorbei* and many others. In addition one finds both interindividual and intraindividual variation.

Before proceeding to the discussion of changes of other lexical information, one aspect of the reinterpretation of the phonological properties of lexical bases needs to be mentioned, namely the resulting homophones.[1] Some examples are:

	NGP	From	Gloss
i)	bek	Eng. *bag*	*'bag'*
		Eng. *back*	*'back'* (adv)
ii)	buk	Ger./Eng. *Buch, book*	*'book'*
	buk	Tol. buk	*'swelling'*
iii)	kot	Eng. *court*	*'court'*
		Eng. *coat*	*'coat'*
iv)	sel	Eng. *shell*	*'shell'*
		Eng. *sail*	*'sail'*
v)	sip	Eng. *sheep*	*'sheep'*
		Eng. *ship*	*'ship'*
		Ger./Eng. *Sieb, sieve*	*'sieve'*
vi)	tan	Eng. *tongue*	*'tongue'*
		Eng. *done*	*'done (food)'*
vii)	sua	Eng. *shore*	*'shore, beach'*
		Eng. *sore*	*'sore'*
viii)	wel	Eng. *wild*	*'wild'*
		Eng. *oil*	*'oil, slippery'*

However, due to the small inventory of lexical items and the availability of a number of phonological resources for disambiguation,

[1] Homophony is reported for many other pidgins and creoles, for instance West African Pidgin English. LePage (1974:48) reports: "The reinterpretation of the phonology and phonotactics of 17th century English by West Africans led to the loss of a great number of lexical contrasts."

homophony was not a major problem during NGP's stabilisation stage, though there are some exceptions such as sap *'shaft'* or *'blade'* (from *'sharp'*) of a knife.

4.3.2.2.3. *Restructuring of Morphological Information*

The inability of NGP speakers to recognise morphological boundaries in the lexical items of its various lexifier languages is manifested in a number of ways in the NGP lexicon:

a) Plural forms are borrowed,[1] particularly in those cases where the noun concerned refers to entities which are normally observed in quantities larger than one. However, the restructured NGP items are neutral with regard to the grammatical category of number. Some examples are:

NGP	From	Gloss
anis	Eng. *ants*	*'ant, ants'*
bonen	Ger. *Bohnen*	*'bean, beans'*
hebsen	Ger. *Erbsen*	*'pea, peas'*
masis	Eng. *matches*	*'match, box of matches'*
sirsen	Ger. *Kirschen*	*'cherry, cherries'*

b) Compounds of the lexifier languages were typically reinterpreted as simple bases in early stabilised NGP, since the language had not yet developed its own system of compounding into which some of the borrowed compounds would be fitted. Examples are numerous, and only a few will be listed here:

NGP	From	Gloss
bilinat	Eng. *betelnut*	*'betelnut'*
simbum	Eng. *jib-boom*	*'jib-boom'*
kolta	Eng. *coal-tar*	*'tar'*
trausel	Eng. *tortoise shell*	*'tortoise'*
mensit	Eng. *main-sheet*	*'main sheet'*
kaswel	Eng. *castor oil*	*'castor oil'*
puskoman	Ger. *Putzpomade*	*'boot polish'*
sisan	Ger. *stillgestanden*	*'stand still'*
balaistip	Ger. *Bleistift*	*'pencil'*

[1] A similar case is the borrowing, as singulars, of nouns which are semantically and grammatically plural but morphologically unmarked in the lexifier language. Examples are boskru *'member of the crew'*, komiti *'member of a village committee'* and the recent loans staf *'member of staff'* and stringben *'guitar player'*.

c) Word as well as morpheme boundaries of the lexifier language are no longer reflected in a number of NGP lexical bases. Fusion of two or more word-level lexical items is found in:

NGP	From	Gloss
baimbai	*by-and-by*	*'soon'*
nambis	*on the beach*	*'beach'*
tudir	*too dear*	*'expensive'*
lego	*let go*	*'to let go'*
sekan	*shake hands*	*'to make peace'*
tasol	*that's all*	*'only, but'*

More examples are listed in Hall (1943a:195).

4.3.2.2.4. *Restructuring of Syntactic Information*

The restructuring of syntactic information will be illustrated by:

i) the development of stable conventions for categorial information;
ii) the grammatical behaviour of third person pronouns;
iii) the behaviour of verb bases with regard to surface case
iv) the position of attributive adjectives.

i) Although the categorial status of lexical bases in NGP often coincides with that of its lexifier languages, there are a number of important differences. An important exception is the reclassification of a number of English adjectives as intransitive verbs, i.e. bases which cannot occur in attributive position. Examples include:

NGP	Gloss
doti	*'to be dirty'*
hangre	*'to be hungry'*
redi	*'to be ready'*
les	*'to be lazy, tired'*
wet	*'to be wet'*

Changed categorial information was further found with a number of other lexical bases including:

NGP	From	Gloss
rabis (adj)	*rubbish* (N)	*'poor, worthless'*
nating (adv)	*nothing* (N)	*'in vain'*
bilong (prep)	*belong* (V)	*'of, for'*
surik (V)	Ger. *zurück 'back'* (adv)	*'to flinch back'*
popaia (V)	Ger. *vorbei 'amiss'* (adv)	*'to miss a target'*
kiki (V)	Tol. kiki *'chair'* (N)	*'to sit down'*
mau (adj)	Tol. mao *'ripe banana'* (N)	*'ripe'*
matmat (N)	Tol. mat *'to die'* (V)	*'grave'*

ii) The choice of third person pronouns in English depends on a number of factors which need not be discussed in detail here. There are three third person singular pronouns whose choice is determined by semantic information contained in the nouns they refer to. An example would be the use of the pronoun *'she'* to refer to living beings of female sex, ships, etc. There is also the plural pronoun *'they'* which neutralises sex and gender distinction (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975b:21-37). Jargon English appears to have possessed only one third person pronoun, realised as em or him, which was used for all genders, singular and plural. Stabilised NGP, on the other hand, is characterised by some new conventions about the use of pronouns. Thus, nouns can be first subclassified into those which can take em as the singular, dual and plural pronoun, this class being **inanimates**. The use of ol indicating plurality with inanimates appears to be restricted to mission texts and grammars, a fact also commented upon by Hall (1943b:26). The second subclass of nouns are **animates** which require the pronoun em for singular, tupela for dual, and usually ol for plural. Some examples from texts dating to the mid-1920s and before include:

NGP	Gloss
ol boi ol i les	*'the natives are lazy'*
To Lovi tupela To Lalaur tupela i wok long monintaim	*'To Lovi and To Lalaur worked in the morning'*
dispela klos i klin na em i doti	*'these clothes are clean and those are dirty'*
ensel em i tultul bilong Deo	*'the angel is a messenger from God'*

iii) Stabilised NGP further exhibits a number of stable conventions for the choice of surface case associated with verb bases. Again, these conventions can differ from those found in the lexifier language. Compare:

NGP	Gloss
mi katim pepa long sisis	*'I cut the paper with the scissors'*
mi katim sisis long pepa	**'I cut the scissors at the paper'*
misin i sot long tisa	*'the mission is short of teachers'*
tisa i sot long misin	**'the teachers are short for the mission'*
mi givim moni longen	*'I have money to him'*
mi givim em long moni	**'I have him for money'*
maket i pulap long pipel	*'the market is full of people'*
pipel i pulap long maket	**'the people are full on the market'*

NGP	Gloss
mi pulimapim kap long ti	*'I filled the cup with tea'*
mi pulimapim ti long kap	*'I poured tea into the cup'*
mi lainim tok pisin longen	*'I learnt Pidgin from him'*
em i lainim mi long tok pisin	*'he taught me Pidgin'*

iv) The position of adjectives in NGP is regulated by lexical conventions which differ from those found in English and other lexifier languages. An important subdivision of attributive adjectives is that into those which precede the nouns they modify and others which follow, for instance:

Adjectives preceding nouns		Adjectives following nouns	
bikpela	*'big'*	daun	*'low'*
longpela	*'long'*	giaman	*'false'*
raunpela	*'round'*	kais	*'left'*
wetpela	*'white'*	malomalo	*'soft'*
yangpela	*'young'*	kela	*'bald'*

Further information about these restrictions, as well as idiosyncratic morphological information with adjective bases, is given by Wurm (1971a: 53-6).

4.3.2.2.5. *Restructuring of Semantic Information*

The emergence of stable conventions about the meaning of lexical items independent of those found in the lexifier language is a further sign of NGP's status as an independent linguistic system. Thus, Salisbury (1967:47) remarks with regard to lexical items of Tolai origin that "Another index of naturalization is the shift of meaning of Tolai terms away from their Tolai meaning." Examples, other than that of tambu discussed by Salisbury, include:

Tolai		NGP	
mao	*'ripe banana'*	mau	*'ripe, mature'*
tubuan	*'old woman, mask of old woman'*	tubuan	*'wooden mask, carving'*
ubene	*'fishing net'*	umben	*'net (in general)'*
virua	*'victim, human flesh'*	birua	*'enemy, warrior'*
kabag	*'white, lime'*	kambang	*'lime'*
pagagar	*'to be open'*	pangangar	*'to be in a position for copulation (of female)'*

However, whilst conventions about the central meaning of most lexical items began to emerge relatively early during NGP's stabilisation, a

fair amount of latitude and vagueness is found with regard to less central areas of meaning. Reed (1943:280) observes: "No native can be expected to have more than a very limited number of associations with his pidgin vocabulary."

The development of stricter conventions about the meaning of lexical bases can be observed, however, in a number of situational contexts where NGP had become fully institutionalised. Thus, for instance, on the plantations a number of well-defined technical terms developed, including:

NGP	Gloss
mek pepa	*'to sign a labour contract'*
finistaim	*'to finish one's indenture'*
sande	*'to pool one's wages'*
krismas	*'period of twelve months'*
lain	*'labour line'*
nuboi	*'newly indentured labourer'*
olboi	*'experienced labourer'*
haus smok	*'copra dryer'*
belo kaikai	*'signal for lunch break'*
belo bek	*'signal for resumption of work after lunch'*
bosboi	*'native supervisor'*

Whilst external factors, such as the institutionalisation of NGP in a certain field of discourse, greatly enhance the stability of semantic information, there are also a number of internal factors contributing to it. The influence of the development of a stable system of aspect and direction marking in NGP's syntax (cf. Wurm 1971a:38-53), for instance, made it possible to distinguish between:

1) Completion versus non-completion with a large number of verb bases, some examples being:

Markerless verb base	Verb base + completion marker
dai *'to be finished, dead, unconscious, to faint, to die'*	dai pinis *'to be dead'*
brukim *'to part, fold, break, divide'*	brukim pinis *'to break'*
save *'to know, understand, recognise, learn'*	save pinis *'to know'*
bagarapim *'to ruin, damage, destroy, wound'*	bagarapim pinis *'to destroy'*
painim *'to look for, search, find'*	painim pinis *'to find'*

ii) Direction of an action towards or away from a speaker or focus:

Markerless verb base	Verb base + direction marker
kisim *'to get, bring, fetch, take, receive'*	kisim i kam *'to bring'*
	kisim i go *'to take away'*
wokabaut *'to walk, go, approach'*	wokabaut i kam *'to approach'*
	wokabaut i go *'to leave, move towards'*

iii) Purposeful or meaningful actions, states and events on the one hand and others which happen without cause, reason or intention. The latter are signalled by the frustrative marker nating.

Markerless lexical base	Lexical base + frustrative marker
longpela *'long, wide, far'*	longpela nating *'very tall'*
man *'person, man, bloke'*	man nating *'uninfluential person'*
kaikai *'food, something edible'*	kaikai nating *'food without meat'*
taim *'time, weather, point in time'*	taim nating *'bad, unpredictable weather'*
bun *'bone, skeleton, frame'*	bun nating *'emaciated'*
samting *'something, genitals, a gizmo'*	samting nating *'something of no consequence'*

A last source of the stabilisation of semantic information are widely shared semantic conventions found in the languages of Papua New Guinea. Though the full extent of the influence of "common Papuan-Melanesian core" semantics (cf. McElhanon 1975:56) remains to be determined, it is evident that it accounts for a significant proportion of the semantic information added to the semantically impoverished and vague lexical bases of English origin.

Laycock (1970b:1127-76) discusses a number of properties of lexical semantics shared by languages in the area of Papua New Guinea, as does Holmer (1966) for the wider area of the Pacific Ocean. Though both are only preliminary studies, they are important for an understanding of NGP's lexical semantics, particularly those cases where lexical bases are related phonologically to English but differ in their semantic properties. The following list serves to illustrate the development of such semantic conventions in stabilised NGP:

NGP lexical base	Related to English	Meaning in NGP
ai	*eye*	*'eye, lid, nipple, point, head'*
han	*hand*	*'hand, arm, foreleg of animals'*
lek	*leg*	*'foot, leg, footprint, hindleg of animals'*
tumara	*tomorrow*	*'tomorrow, the next day'*
kol	*cold*	*'cold, exhausted, wet (matches), flat (battery)'* (cf. Aufenanger and Höltker 1940:139)
gras	*grass*	*'hair, feathers, grass, fur'*
slip	*sleep*	*'to lie down, be in horizontal position, sleep'*
go	*go*	*'to go, fly, move'*

These examples, to which numerous others could be added, demonstrate that substratum influences are an important source of semantic information found with NGP lexical items. Their relative importance *vis-à-vis* other influences of the kind discussed by Huttar (1975:684-95) remains to be determined.

4.3.2.3. Multiple Etymologies

One of the aims of the discussion so far has been to demonstrate that in discussing the lexical affiliations of NGP one should not be concerned with the origin of 'words' but rather with the origin of the various kinds of lexical information found with lexical items. The fact that NGP developed out of a contact situation is reflected in what has been called 'multi-level syncretisms' (Edwards 1974:5), i.e.:

> The factors which determine that the phonological form from one heritage will be adopted by pidgin speakers are sometimes distinct from the factors which determine the origins of the sememic, symbolic, and emotional content for any given lexeme.

However, whilst being able to trace the individual components of lexical information to a certain source is a necessary condition for an appropriate characterisation of lexical items of stable NGP, it is not a sufficient one. It ignores the possibility that lexical information may be assigned to more than one source simultaneously. The importance of this kind of syncretism (henceforth referred to as **lexical conflation**) in the development of pidgins and creoles has been discussed by a number of writers (e.g. Cassidy 1966:211-5; Valkhoff 1966:223-40; Edwards 1974:1-26) and it has been shown for many of these languages that partial similarity of form and meaning of distinct lexical items in the source language(s) can lead to their conflation

in a pidgin. LePage (1974:49) characterises the linguistic 'encounter' leading to this development as follows:

> Contact situations are bound to involve a good deal of exploration by both speaker and hearer, which will inevitably result in some lucky and many fruitless sallies. The lucky ones are likely to be immediately reinforced by the participants, each eager to snatch at means of communication; the unlucky ones are unlikely to be often repeated. Coincidence of form with some similarity of meaning between items from two codes will mean that such items will have a high probability of survival in the emergent pidgin code. A lexical example would be English dirty and Twi doti jointly giving rise to some pidgin forerunner of Jamaican creole doti.

With regard to the source languages involved, three different instances of lexical conflation can be distinguished in NGP:

i) Two phonologically and semantically related lexical items of English origin are subsumed under a single one in NGP. The existence of this process was pointed out first by Brenninkmeyer (1924:23): "Sometimes, similarly sounding words are wrongly taken to be a single one, as in: pull-full, catch-fetch, work-walk, etc." (author's translation). Other items which are the likely result of such conflation[1] include:

banis — derived from both *'fence'* and *'bandage'*, the shared semantic elements of these two English lexical items suggesting a basic meaning of *'something which is put around something else'*;

basis — translated by Smythe (n.d.) as *'a place where things have to go'*, suggests a dual etymology involving both *'passage'* and *'basis'*;

bilasim — is usually considered to be derived from English *'flash'*. However, its use in the verbal chain tok bilasim *'to ridicule'* has led the authors of the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.) to assume a second etymology *'to bless'*;

giaman — *'to deceive, be mistaken'* is most probably related to Australian English *'gammon'* in the same meaning. However, a number of European writers have expressed the opinion that it is also understood as containing elements of meaning from *'German'* and *'sermon'*, referring to the alleged agents or instruments of deceit respectively (cf. D.H. Clark 1955:9);

nius — *'news, noise'* is probably related to both forms provided in the gloss, nius in NGP often meaning a mere rumour rather than a factual piece of news.

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[1] An indication that one is dealing with conflation is the fact that present-day Urban Pidgin often has two items where Rural Pidgin has only one, as in Rural Pidgin ples *'place, village'* as against Urban Pidgin ples *'place'* and viles *'village'*.

pait[1] in the meaning of *'to bite, be sharp, pungent'* may be related to both *'fight'* and *'bite'*;

paus *'pouch, purse'* is most probably related to both nouns given in the gloss, though NGP speakers conceive of it as a single item;

pen is interpreted by many NGP speakers as being *'something to paint with'* in which case it would be related to both *'pen'* and *'paint'*;

tesin *'place with European population'* may be related to both *'station'* and *'plantation'*, the latter item having lost the syllable preceding the main stress, a process characteristic of the breaking down of phonological information during borrowing;

win *'wind, wing'*. The shared semantic property of the two English items involving *'movement of air'* appears to have caused their reinterpretation as a single item in NGP.

ii) The number of lexical items which can be derived equally well from German or English is quite large, and it can be assumed that many of them are the result of conflation, in particular since the phonological structure of stabilised NGP provides for the neutralisation of a number of differences in the pronunciation of German and English, such as the treatment of word-final stops. Consider the following:

NGP	Related German word	Related English word	Gloss
ais	*Eis*	*ice*	*'ice'*
anka	*Anker*	*anchor*	*'anchor'*
as	*Arsch*	*arse*	*'arse, reason, origin'*
bet	*Bett*	*bed*	*'bed, shelf'*
gaten	*Garten*	*garden*	*'garden'*
hama	*Hammer*	*hammer*	*'hammer'*
mas	*Mast*	*mast*	*'mast, flagpole'*
rip	*Riff*	*reef*	*'reef'*
sadel	*Sattel*	*saddle*	*'saddle'*

Numerous additional examples have been pointed out in Steinbauer's dictionary (1969). The above items belong to the category of names listed in vocabularies which appeared soon after the termination of

[1] A third possible source of this item, suggested by Roosman (1975:230), is Malay pahit *'bitter'*.

German control. It also seems likely that such multiple etymologies were already frequent in Jargon English at the time when German and English recruiters jointly controlled the labour trade between Samoa and the islands of the southwestern Pacific.

iii) Conflation of lexical items of Melanesian and European origin is less frequent, though it is difficult to determine to what extent chance similarity in sound and meaning may have influenced the selection of the basic inventory of NGP.[1]

That a number of NGP lexical items exhibit similarities with items from both English and local languages was first pointed out by Nevermann (1929:253-4):

> Some Pidgin words which at first glance appear to be English have, however, only a chance similarity to it. Thus, the Tolai word kiap 'chief' has nothing to do with 'captain' but is native. Pusi 'cat' also seems not to be connected with English 'pussy' but is probably Samoan. The word for 'women', mari or meri, which is usually derived from the name 'Mary', popular among sailors, seems to me to be connected rather with the Tolai word mari 'to love' or mári 'pretty, beautiful' if it is not to be derived from married.
>
> (author's translation)

This quotation clearly illustrates the reluctance of linguists at the time to acknowledge the possibility that a lexical item may be the result of conflation, and their consequent insistence on single 'true' etymologies. The possibility of conflation was acknowledged later, however, by Bateson (1944:138) who argued as follows:

> In a few cases, a single word may combine both English and native roots. The word liklik, meaning 'small', for example, is such a hybrid between the English little and ikilik, the word for 'small' in the language of Rabaul.

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[1] Edwards (1974:4) argues that the correspondences in sound and meaning may have been rather haphazard and quite spurious in some instances. Speaking about West African Pidgin English he observes:

> The most obvious form of lexical pidginization is found when one (or more) African forms blended with one (or more) European forms, resulting in a new restructured pidgin item. The parent forms need not have been closely analogous in form or meaning. From our (disad)vantage point, three centuries removed, African and English forms often appear to have fallen together in unpredictable ways. One thing seems clear, however: pidginization was a highly selective process. The need for precise phonological congruence was often superseded by the immediate semantic requirements of the speech community. A necessary condition governing the selection and uniting of parental items was that crosscultural, even multicultural, communication be furthered. This could occur when roughly analogous form-meaning combinations (semi-synonyms, sharing selected sounds, and sememes) occurred in the traditions of each of the contact cultures.

Apart from meri *'woman'* and liklik *'small'* a number of other lexical bases are strong candidates for this type of lexical conflation:

Tolai	English	NGP
atip *'thatched roof'*	*on top*	antap *'on top, roof'*
bala *'belly, bowels'*	*belly*	bel *'belly, seat of emotions'*
bulit *'sap'*	*blood*	blut, bulut, bulit *'blood, sap, glue'*
rokrok *'frog'*	*croak croak*	rokrok *'frog'*
yat emphasiser	*yet*	yet emphasiser, *'yet'*

Roughly analogous combinations of form and meaning can also be pointed out in cases such as:

Tolai	English	NGP
lok *'to push through'*	*lock*	lokim *'to lock with a key'*
tak *'to take'*	*take*	tekimwe *'to take away'*
tun *'to cook, bake'*	*turn, done*	tanim *'to stir food'*
dur *'dirty'*	*dirty*	doti *'dirty'*
kap *'to carry, take'*	*carry*	karim *'to carry, take'*

Unfortunately, data about the use of NGP by the indigenous population is very scarce and one can only speculate about the possible extent of lexical conflation in NGP's stabilisation period. More than two sources appear to have been involved in some instances. A particularly intriguing case of lexical conflation is that of sanga *'pliers, hand of crayfish, forked post, slingshot'* which appears to be related to German *zange 'pliers'*, Malay tiang *'forked branch'* and Australian English shanghai *'slingshot'*. The meaning shared is that of a bifurcation and there appear to be good reasons to assume a triple etymology in this case.

None of the vocabularies or dictionaries of NGP which have appeared so far have paid sufficient attention to the complex ways in which lexical information from various sources is manifested in single lexical items in this language. However, pidginists and creolists are now well aware that a conventional approach to lexical description and etymologising has to give way to new modes of dealing with lexical items and their history (cf. also Edwards 1974:5).

4.3.3. *SYSTEMATIC ASPECTS OF THE LEXICON OF STABILISED NGP*

4.3.3.1. Introduction

By the time German control came to an end the lexical inventory of NGP comprised perhaps 750-1,000 items, most of them lexical bases. Throughout the stabilisation stage, borrowing from outside sources

remained the most important means of increasing NGP's referential adequacy. However, in contrast with the lexicon of Jargon English, that of stabilised SPP and NGP was no longer an unstructured list. Instead, one can observe the development of lexical structures manifested in i) the emergence of tightly structured semantic fields; ii) the use of NGP's stable syntax in circumlocutions; and iii) the development of a small number of programs of lexical derivation.

4.3.3.2. The Emergence of Semantic Field Structure

The importance of the development of semantic fields (cf. subchapter 2.7.) lies in there being a way of organising the lexical material borrowed from a number of sources, thereby reconciling the frequently conflicting semantic information 'picked up' from these sources.

An example of such a developing semantic field is that of enumeration. Many number systems are found in the geographic area of Papua New Guinea (cf. Laycock 1975b:219-34). Decimal number systems are widespread in the Melanesian languages spoken in the area where NGP stabilised. This facilitated the adoption of the English system of counting, though not without certain changes. Reed (1943:282) observes:

> The system of enumeration in pidgin is a clear example of linguistic syncretism under the impact of culture contact. And we may also observe herein significant cultural adjustments by the natives toward European institutions of economics and finance. The cardinal numbers from one to ten are patently of English derivation: *wan, tu, tri, for, faif, sikis, sefen, et, nain,* and *ten*; but with numbers above ten, the native pattern of grouping numbers more frequently occurs. Thus eleven is *wanfela ten wan*, twelve *wanfela ten tu*, and so on to twenty, which is *tufela ten*.

Different conventions for counting in NGP emerged in other areas and are still found with some very old speakers. One of these is the quinary system, using English cardinal numbers one to four and names of bodyparts for the numbers five and ten (cf. also Murphy 1973:35). Here follows a comparison of two counting systems in use in stabilised NGP:

	Decimal system	Quinary system
1	wanpela	wanpela
2	tupela	tupela
3	tripela	tripela
4	popela	popela
5	paipela	wanpela han
6	sikispela	wanpela han na wanpela
7	sevenpela	wanpela han na tupela
8	etpela	wanpela han na tripela
9	nainpela	wanpela han na popela
10	wanpela ten	wanpela lek

A second example of emerging lexical structures is that of kinship[1] terms in stabilised NGP. It appears, however, that stable conventions existed only with regard to the central meaning of kinship terms, whilst considerable latitude was - and still is - found with regard to the more peripheral aspects of meaning. Though a number of items appearing in this field have English cognates, their semantic information has been restructured:

NGP	Central meaning
tumbuna	*'grandparent, grandchild'*
papa	*'father'*
mama	*'mother'*
kandare	*'maternal uncle or aunt'*
smolmama	*'paternal aunt'*
smolpapa	*'paternal uncle'*
brata	*'sibling of the same sex'*
susa	*'sibling of the opposite sex'*

Apart from the semantic fields just mentioned, a number of others, often less tightly structured,[2] are in evidence towards the end of NGP's stabilisation stage. Again, they illustrate "the manner and proportion in which words of different origins, new compounds and

[1] The extent to which conventions regarding the meaning of NGP kinship terms vary from locality to locality is as yet not well knwon. Research is being carried out by Mr Ross Bowden of Melbourne University. Observations about NGP kinship terminology have also been made by Mead (1931:148), Healey (n.d.:62-3), and Murphy (1973:39-40).

[2] An area of NGP semantics which has received very little attention is that of traditional measurements. Though European measurements are known by many speakers, other systems for indicating weight, length or distance are also used. A pepa *'paper bag'* of rice is about one pound, a mekpas *'bundle'* of sago is about twenty pounds, whilst a bilum *'stringbag'* is about twice that quantity. However, as has been pointed out by Healey (n.d.:172-3), conventions can differ with locality.

phrases are to be found in a representative semantic group." (Hall 1943a:199). One such field is that of names for members of different age groups.

NGP	Gloss
pikinini man	*'male baby, little boy'*
pikinini meri	*'baby girl, little girl'*
manki	*'(girls and) boys before puberty, unmarried young men'*
man	*'young married man'*
meri	*'young woman'*
lapun	*'old man or woman'*

Yet another example is that of the system of names for parts of the human body. The first writer to draw attention to this semantic field was Hall (1943a:199). For the purpose of this book Hall's analysis has been drastically revised, however:

NGP	Gloss
skin	*'skin, body'*
bun	*'bone, skeleton'*
pes	*'forehead'*
maus	*'lips, mouth'*
han	*'hand, arm'*
lek	*'foot, leg'*
klok	*'heart'*
kokeru	*'clitoris'*
kan	*'female genitals'*
kok	*'male genitals'*
brus	*'chest'*
skru bilong pinga	*'knuckle'*
skru bilong lek	*'knee'*
skru bilong han	*'elbow'*
baksait	*'back'*
laplap bilong kok	*'prepuce'*
pinga bilong lek	*'toe'*
kapa bilong pinga	*'fingernail'*
gras bilong maus	*'moustache'*
rop i gat blut	*'artery, vein'*
sangana	*'groin, armpit'*
susu	*'breasts'*

A semantic field, which has received little attention, but which illustrates the degree to which NGP has become institutionalised as the

language of the indigenous population during this period is that of coconut terminology. The following list is based on Borchardt's dictionary (1926:78) as well as observations made by the author.

NGP	Gloss
kokonas	*'coconut palm and fruit'*
kulau	*'green drinking nut'*
drai	*'dry nut'*
kopra, kabora	*'copra, meat of dry nut'*
drip	*'very young coconut'*
nok, pangal	*'midrib of coconut leaves'*
bombom	*'coconut fronds'*
bilo	*'half coconut shell, used as ladle'*
munum	*'flowers of coconut'*
kru	*'shoot of nut'*
milis	*'coconut milk made from shedding coconut meat in the water of a ripe nut'*
milisim	*'to cook in coconut milk'*
wara bilong kokonas	*'water of ripe nut'*
grisim	*'to cook in water of ripe nut'*
mit bilong kokonas	*'coconut meat'*
laplap bilong kokonas	*'coconut leaf sheath'*
kok bilong kokonas	*'unopened flower sheath'*
skin bilong kokonas	*'husk of coconut'*
sel bilong kokonas	*'coconut shell'*
stik bilong kokonas	*'stem of coconut tree'*

Stabilisation of semantic fields was found in those areas of the lexicon which were needed in daily cross-linguistic communication and in the context of the activities typically carried out in NGP, such as work on coconut plantations. Much less agreement was found in the treatment of some other semantic fields marginal to NGP's main communicative functions.[1] Thus, to mention an example, considerable discrepancies were, and still are, found in the domain of names for fingers.

[1] DeCamp (1974:57) argues that these cannot be described in terms of either an idiolectal or a polylectal model of language. Instead:

> What is required is a concept of speech acts within the context of a communications network. Within a large speech community, not everyone speaks to everybody, nor does one discuss the same topics or use the same style with everyone. Communication is channeled through a complex network in three dimensions: personal contact, register, and style. Within this network there are lines of weakness: I never speak to Richard M. Nixon; I never discuss mathematical logic with the milkman; and I discuss linguistics with my barber only on an informal level. These lines of weakness provide the insulation which keeps the incompatible elements of the composite system separated and prevents them from short-circuiting the communication process.

The data in the following list was collected by the author in a number of localities. It appears that the various systems for finger names used reflect both direct substratum influence as well as certain traditions of NGP in the localities where the individual speakers acquired NGP. Compare:

System No.	Thumb	Index finger	Middle finger	Ring finger	Little finger
1	nambawan pinga	nambatu pinga	nambatri pinga	nambapo pinga	nambapaip pinga
2	mama pinga	nambawan pinga	nambatu pinga	nambatri pinga	nambapo pinga
3	nambapaip pinga	nambapo pinga	nambatri pinga	nambatu pinga	nambawan pinga
4	mama pinga		longpela pinga		liklik pinga

4.3.3.3. The Beginnings of NGP's Derivational Lexicon: Circumlocution

4.3.3.3.1. *General Observations*

Most writers who have dealt with NGP or other pidgins have made at least a passing reference to circumlocution. However, there have been few attempts to deal with this phenomenon in a principled way, exceptions being remarks by Baron (1975:14-6), Turner (1960:58-9) and Mühlhäusler (1974:98-103).

Writers have commented on circumlocution in NGP either in order to illustrate an amusing facet of its lexicon or to make more serious attempts to demonstrate how speakers try to overcome the shortage of lexical items. An illustration of the former is found in an article by Shelton-Smith (*Rabaul Times* 24 May 1929):

> It is in the description of strange persons and objects that 'pidgin' is at its best and funniest. What vivid pictures, for instance, are called up by 'canoe belong sky' for aeroplane, and 'ship 'e sit down along stone' for a wreck. What humorous pictures one conjures on hearing the 'boys'' way of differentiating between two Rabaul residents, who have the same name, but differ markedly in stature: Masta 'Big Bel' and Master 'Liklik Bel'.[1] A 'boy' can describe the most exotic objects with accuracy. 'Gammon skin tortoise belong put im shoe along foot belong master' leaves no doubt that the object in question is an imitation tortoise-shell shoe horn.

[1] Though a number of writers have remarked on nicknames given to Europeans (e.g. Hesse-Wartegg 1902:53; Marshall 1949:304; Reed 1943:289) no study of these and other proper nouns in NGP has been made to date.

However, such howlers quoted throughout the popular literature on NGP cannot conceal the fact that there is a much more serious aspect to circumlocution. Thus, its vigorous presence in the early years of NGP's stabilisation illustrates the desperate need for new names for the multitude of new objects encountered in the contact with European colonisers.

Circumlocution lies on the boundary between lexicon and syntax. The majority of examples quoted illustrate their *ad hoc* character, i.e. attempts by members of the indigenous population to come to grips with a newly encountered object, using known lexical items and the rules of NGP syntax. That many of the circumlocutions should not be regarded as lexical items has been pointed out by Turner (1961:58-9):

> There is a legend as old as Jespersen's Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin that the Pidgin word for piano is 'bigfela bokis yu fait-im i krai.' This is a description, not a word, comparable with descriptions of things unfamiliar to ourselves in a Pidgin to English glossary, e.g. John J. Murphy in The Book of Pidgin English defines laplap 'Length of cloth worn around the waist like a kilt.' If pianos become common in new Guinea, they will borrow the word piano.

The instability of circumlocutions, i.e. their syntactic rather than lexical character, is demonstrated by the different forms which descriptive phrases for the same object take in the mouths of different speakers. To return to the age-old legend concerning the name for a piano in NGP, it is interesting to observe how different writers report on the form of this circumlocution.

In 1902, Baron von Hesse-Wartegg (1902:53) reports the form "big fellow box spose whiteman fight him he cry too much", where Daiber writes in the same year (1902:255):

> All in all, the black does not lack a certain sense of humour. His description of the first piano brought to the German South Seas is also delightful. It was a Papuan who, horrified, told of big fellow box, white fellow master fight him plenty too much, he cry (of the big box which the white man beats so much that it screams). Since that time the piano has been called in Pidgin-English box belong cry, that is 'screaming box' or 'screaming trunk'.
>
> (author's translation)

Later one finds "big fellow bokkes, suppose missis he fight him, he cry too much" (Friederici 1911:100), big fellow box, stop house, suppose you fight him, him cry (reported for SPP by Neffgen in the *Samoan Times* of 27 March 1915); Shelton-Smith (1929) mentions the more likely version of fight im bokis moosik for *'to play the piano'*, more recently Mihalic (1969:39) mentions the form him big fella box, suppose you fight him, he cry, without claiming the authenticity of this version and, lastly (but perhaps not finally), Balint in his 1969 dictionary lists the

entry bikpela bokis bilong krai taim yu paitim na kikim em. It may be noted that none of the sources quoted has the same 'name' for a piano in NGP.

Another reason for not regarding circumlocutions as fully-fledged lexical items is that the meaning of many paraphrases used to describe new objects and activities has not been fully conventionalised and that gestures and facial expressions must be resorted to, to convey the intended message. The following examples from Schnee (1904:303-4) illustrate this:[1]

NGP	Gloss
small fellow something he go belong bush	*'land crab'*
plenty small fellow something he come he kaikai all finish	*'ants'*

However, some shorter phrasal circumlocutions appear to have become conventionalised in both form and meaning, indicating the status of circumlocution as the predecessor of lexical regularities for the formation of new lexical items. Some examples are:

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
sit bilong binen	*shit of bees*	*'honey'*
rop bilong su	*string of shoe*	*'shoe lace'*
pekpek bilong lam	*faeces of lamp*	*'soot'*

4.3.3.3.2. *Circumlocution in Stabilised SPP and NGP*

Reinecke (1937:748) has remarked that "circumlocution, context and facial expression and intonation play a considerably larger part in Beach-la-mar than in most languages, whether 'pure' or jargonized." The reason for the vigorous presence of circumlocution in the early forms of SPP and NGP was the rapid increase in the number of situations in which these pidgins were used. Its presence in SPP is reported by a number of writers, for instance, Baessler (1895:24): "Whole sentences have often come to stand for a single word and the new arrival does not always grasp the deeper meaning." (author's translation)

Actual examples of circumlocution in SPP have been reported by a number of writers. Most of the examples provided by Genthe (1908) and Neffgen (1915 and 1916) appear to be genuine but some may be European fabrications. They will be listed without further discussion of their status. Genthe (1908:9) mentions the following:

[1] The limitations of circumlocutions as a means of repairing referential inadequacies of pidgins are quite severe. This has been pointed out, for instance, by Reinecke (1937:748), French (1953:58) and Mühlhäusler (1974:100). Bauer's analysis (1975: 66-7) of Schnee's second example, on the other hand, misses this point.

SPP	Gloss
he white fellow man belong coconut stop no grass	*'a bald headed European'*
manuoa stop long bush	*'locomotive'*
big fellow bokkus white man fight him he cry	*'piano'*

Further examples are found in an article by Neffgen (1915:4):

SPP	Gloss
mama belong snake	*'the rhinoceros beetle'*; an insect which is very destructive to coconut palms; mama = *'mother'*, snake here meaning *'lava'*
big fellow lavalava belong horse	*'a horse cloth'*
spear belong louse belong coconut	*'a comb'* (coconut = *'head'*)
house belong toberan	*'a devil's house, a warship'*
big fellow ship, him make plenty bumbum, him make all house belong men finish	*'a big warship'* (this and the above example are strange because of the presence of a single item manua *'man of war'* in SPP)
kavale him horse nothing him go push-push	*'a motor car'* (kavale = *'carriage'*)
steamer belong bush	*'railway'*
glass belong long way	*'telescope'*
brother belong matau him come him go	*'a saw'* (matau = *'axe'*)

Neffgen (1916:5) lists some more examples:

SPP	Gloss
wood belong house go up go down	*'ladder, steps'*
butter belong piki	*'lard'*
house belong paper	*'printing office'*
house make fellow no savy sick	*'hospital'*

The circumlocution for *'saw'* was remembered by one of the author's informants in the form of:

SPP	Gloss
brata bilong akis pusim i go pusim i kam	*'saw'*

which again confirms the view that these circumlocutions are *ad hoc* creations and not fixed lexical phrases. Since their main purpose is to overcome referential inadequacies in the lexicon, they give an indication of the magnitude of such deficiencies in SPP.

Many writers have remarked on the presence of circumlocution in NGP as spoken in German New Guinea. Friederici (1911:92-106) provides a

number of observations about the way in which circumlocutions originate and how they are put to use, supported by numerous extralinguistic means of expression:

> It is difficult to render on paper the effect of some funny turns of phrase, astonishing circumlocutions, sudden exclamations. Part of it are the gestures made by the Melanesian with the corners of the mouth, nose, eyes, and forehead, his on occasion incredibly disdainful expression, his childish laugh, his loud excitement.
>
> (author's translation)

Friederici (1911:101) expresses the view that circumlocution cannot fully make good for the lexical poverty of NGP, particularly not in the area of abstract expression:[1]

> Pidgin English is very poor; for all things which lie beyond the horizon of the natives, for abstract concepts, for the truths of our ethics, and such, there are no expressions. Some can be replaced by circumlocutions, some cannot be rendered at all.
>
> (author's translation)

Neuhauss (1911:221) suggests that some substratum influence may have contributed to the ease with which new circumlocutions are invented:

> The vocabulary remains incredibly scanty .... All missing words, i.e. the larger part of all designations, are expressed by clumsy circumlocutions .... Were the Papuan not used to a picturesque mode of expression and, moreover, a clever fellow who, in every situation, knows how to look after himself, Pidgin would not have been brought half the way to becoming a useful lingua franca.
>
> (author's translation)

Finally, Nevermann (1929:256) stresses that circumlocutions must be regarded as individual rather than social solutions to the problem of lexical poverty:

> In view of the small size of the vocabulary it is often necessary to use circumlocutions for new concepts, for instance for 'half moon' small fellow moon, for 'bed' place belong sleep, and for 'to write, paint, photograph' make belong paper. Such neologisms are obviously very dependent upon the individuality of the natives.
>
> (author's translation)

Because of the *ad hoc* character of many circumlocutions, their number in NGP is impossible to determine. Furthermore, one has to distinguish the pseudo-pidgin described by European observers who wanted to illustrate the quaintness of NGP from genuine examples of circumlocution.

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[1] A similar view was expressed many years later by Whinnom (1971:109): "Obviously there are other devices for word-formation and we are all familiar with the ingenious periphrases of pidgins, but what cannot be generated very successfully by the combination of concrete words is abstract terms."

The following examples most probably belong to the category of European fabrications:

Term to be described	Reported circumlocution
'eclipse (of sun)'	kerosine b'long Jesus Christ 'e buggar-up finish (Marshall 1949:304)
'sausage'	banana b'long bullamacow (Marshall 1949)
'onion'	apple belong stink (Churchill 1911:39)
'violin'	little pella bockis you scratch-im bel i krai out too mas (D.H. Clark 1955:11)
'moon'	lamp belong Jesus (Baker 1945:237)
'monkey'	small fellow old man belong tail (Churchill 1911:47)

Similar expressions have been fabricated since and can still be heard among some expatriates in Papua New Guinea.[1]

Examples of circumlocutions which may have been in everyday use were found in a number of vucabularies and dictionaries published soon after the termination of German control. They illustrate that many basic names were still lacking in NGP and had to be expressed in a roundabout way:

Term to be described	Reported circumlocution(s)
'barrel'	kas bilong pulimap wara (Borchardt 1926)
'coffin'	bokis bilong man i dai (Kutscher n.d.)
'shower'	wara i kam daun long kapa i gat planti hul (Kutscher n.d.)
'spittle, saliva'	wara bilong maus (Borchardt 1926)
'stairs'	lata bilong haus (Borchardt 1926)

The difficulty of expressing abstract concepts by using circumlocution is illustrated in three terms reported by Borchardt (1926) and Kutscher (n.d.):

Term to be described	Reported circumlocution
'to believe'	spik i tru
'promise'	tok tru antap
'miracle'	bikpela pasin bilong Deo

---

[1] As noted by Laycock (1970c:48), one of the prominent features of such fabricated circumlocutions is that they often describe the unknown in terms of the even less known:

> There is enough pseudo-Pidgin around, without adding to it; one has only to think of that favourite canard of the women's magazines, that the Pidgin for 'helicopter' is *mixmaster bilong Jesus Christ* - a locution that ignores the fact that a helicopter is a far more common object to a native of New Guinea than a mixmaster, and that a plausible description of a mixmaster might be *helikopta bilong misis*.

A few years later mixmaster belong Jesus Christ was quoted as a genuine example of NGP in an article by Kingsley Amis in *The Listener* of 3 January 1974:17.

The fact that some dictionaries list circumlocutions whilst others written at the same time or even earlier contain word-level items for certain objects and activities, demonstrates that the development of a country-wide common basic lexicon was a gradual one. It also demonstrates the instability of circumlocutions and the ease with which they are replaced by more stable lexical items:

Reported circumlocution	Lexical replacement	Gloss
smok bilong graun	das (Eng.) tobon (Tol.)	*'dust'*
rot bilong wara	baret (Mal.)	*'ditch'*
kom bilong sutim kaikai i go long maus	gabel (Ger.)	*'eating fork'*
susu bilong duai	gumi (Ger.)	*'rubber'*
snek bilong wara	maleo (Tol.)	*'eel'*
diwai bilong raitim pepa	blaistik (Ger.)	*'pencil'*

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that the use of circumlocution still continues, though to a much smaller degree than in the time of NGP's initial stabilisation. Three examples of *ad hoc* circumlocution recorded by the author in 1974 are:

NGP	Gloss
bikpela ren olsem bokis ais i pundaun	*'hail'*
si i bruk antap	*'tidal wave'*
man i gat skin bilong man na skin bilong meri wantaim	*'hermaphrodite'*

However, in the time after NGP's stabilisation, the availability of more sophisticated mechanisms for the formation of lexical items relegated circumlocution to those areas of discourse not normally covered by the functions of NGP. The beginnings of mechanisms allowing the formation of items at word-level can already be observed in stabilised SPP and NGP, as will be shown shortly.

4.3.3.4. The Formation of Stable Lexical Items

Whilst borrowing and *ad hoc* circumlocution still played the most important part in the expansion of the lexicon during NGP's stabilisation phase, there are a number of indications that more systematic ways of creating new lexical items were in the process of becoming part of NGP grammar. The ways in which these new processes emerged will be dealt with in detail in subsection 4.4.3.2. In the present subsection only some observations about the types of mechanisms found will be given. The two main types found at this stage are short lexical phrases and word-level lexical items derived from bases by means of functional shift.

Lexical phrases are found mainly in a small number of semantic areas. These include:

i) names for different kinds of people

Phrases expressing that a person belongs to a certain profession or locality, or has certain properties, are formed by using a frame:

man bilong + $\{^{N}_{V}\}$

The examples in the following list were taken from Brenninkmeyer (1924) and Borchardt (1926):

NGP	Gloss
man bilong pekato	*'a sinner'*
man bilong kamda	*'a carpenter'*
man bilong stia	*'a helmsman, good mate'*
man bilong limlimbur	*'an idler'*
man bilong les	*'a lazy fellow'*
man bilong kaikai	*'a glutton'*
man bilong giaman	*'a liar'*
man bilong sabe	*'an expert'*
man bilong kros	*'a bad-tempered person'*
man bilong hambak	*'a promiscuous person'*

ii) names for certain kinds of buildings

Lexical phrases referring to buildings are formed by adding a noun, verb or adjective base to the noun base haus without using the preposition bilong. The examples quoted were found in Brenninkmeyer's grammar (1924:3), a number of earlier texts, and in SPP as described by Mühlhäusler (1976).

NGP	Gloss
haus kuk	*'kitchen'*
haus boi	*'hut for labourers'*
haus kot	*'court house'*
haus pekpek	*'toilet'*
haus marit	*'married quarters'*
haus kunai	*'grass hut'*
haus pepa	*'office'*
haus stua	*'store'*
haus kapa	*'corrugated iron building'*
haus drai	*'store-room for copra'*
haus kalabus	*'prison'*
haus skul	*'school house'*

A closer inspection of the phrases composed with man and haus reveals that the simple surface structure reflects a number of deep structure relations, e.g. haus stua *'a house which is a store'*, haus kapa *'a building which is constructed out of corrugated iron'*, haus marit *'a building for married people'*, etc. However, it appears that at this stage these underlying structures are of less importance, since they do not serve as models for the generation of new compound phrases other than those involving a very restricted set of first nouns including man, haus and ples.

iii) distinction of sex in humans and animals

The elements man *'male'* and meri *'female'* are added to noun bases referring to people and animals to distinguish between the sexes, this mechanism being widely used in pidgin and creole languages (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:90). Examples include:

NGP	Gloss	NGP	Gloss
hos man	*'stallion'*	hos meri	*'mare'*
pikinini man	*'young boy'*	pikinini meri	*'young girl'*
dok man	*'male dog'*	dok meri	*'bitch'*
pik man	*'boar'*	pik meri	*'sow'*
kakaruk man	*'cock'*	kakaruk meri	*'hen'*

iv) antonyms of adjectives and intransitive verbs

The scarcity of lexical items corresponding to descriptive adjectives is noticeable in stabilised NGP. However, "the number of those used is doubled by a negative use of them" (Jacomb 1914:97). Compare:

Positive		Negative	
gut	*'good'*	nogut	*'bad'*
strong	*'strong'*	nostrong	*'feeble'*
stret	*'correct'*	nostret	*'incorrect, unacceptable'*
nap	*'sufficient'*	nonap	*'insufficient'*
les	*'lazy'*	noles	*'busy'*

v) conventions for changing subcategorical status

Apart from these examples of phrase-level lexical items, there are signs of the emergence of certain devices for the formation of word-level lexical items. Most prominent are instances of lexical derivation by means of changing the subcategorical or categorical status of lexical bases.

The following conventions with regard to change of subcategory can be observed.

a) The convention that nouns referring to trees can also refer to the fruit from these trees,[1] thus bata *'avocado tree'* can also mean *'avocado pear'*, saksak *'sago palm'* and *'sago'*, muli *'orange tree'* and *'orange'*, and so forth.

b) The name of a sound is derived from the name of the instrument with which it is produced. Examples are tandok *'horn trumpet'* and *'signal for beginning or ending work'*; kundu *'drum'* and *'sound of a drum'*; visil, kaviv *'flute'* and *'sound of a flute'*, and so forth.

c) A third convention, which is less generally maintained than the first two, is that a noun referring to a material can at the same time refer to something typically made out of this material, e.g. purpur *'flower, purpur bush'* and *'grass skirt'*, ain *'metal'* and *'flat-iron, anvil'*, kapa *'shiny metal'* and *'washing copper'*, let *'leather'* and *'belt'*, plet *'china, porcelain'* and *'china plate'*, kom *'horn'* and *'comb'*, gumi *'rubber'* and *'rubber tube'*, pepa *'paper'* and *'paper bag'*, glas *'glass'* and *'drinking glass, mirror, thermometer'*.

d) There are some signs of a fourth convention specifying that nouns referring to a place can at the same time refer to the inhabitants of these localities. A sole example at this stage is Siaman *'Germany'* and *'German'*.

vi) derivation by categorical shift

Towards the end of NGP's stabilisation stage a number of derivational programs involving shift of lexical category are also in evidence, these being:

a) MF Program 1:[2]

(N + im) V_{tr} → yusim N long $\{^{\text{mekim}}_{\text{wokim}}\}$ sampela samting

'use N *to* $\{^{make}_{do}\}$ *something'*

Examples recorded during this stage include:

lok	*'lock, padlock'*	lokim	*'to lock'*
potograp	*'camera'*	potograpim	*'to take a picture'*
savol	*'shovel'*	savolim	*'to shovel'*
ain	*'flat-iron'*	ainim	*'to iron'*
bulit	*'glue'*	bulitim	*'to glue'*
skel	*'scales'*	skelim	*'to weigh'*
smok	*'smoke'*	smokim	*'to smoke (copra)'*

[1] This may reflect influence from Tolai or related languages. Tolai lama, for instance, refers to both *'coconut'* and *'coconut tree'*.

[2] The numbers for programs are those used in Chapter 5.

b) MF Program 21:[1]

(V_{int} + im) V_{caus} → mekim sampela samting/man i V_{int}

'make something/someone do something'

hangamap	*'to hang'*	hangamapim	*'to hang something'*
raus	*'be removed'*	rausim	*'to remove, expel'*
hariap	*'to hurry'*	hariapim	*'to speed up someone'*

c) MF Program 11:

(N + im) N → putim N long ...

'put N on something'

sadel	*'saddle'*	sadelim	*'to saddle'*
bilas	*'adornment'*	bilasim	*'to adorn'*
gris	*'fat, grease'*	grisim	*'to lubricate, mix with coconut milk'*

Reduplication as a word forming device is virtually absent at this stage, though repetition of both verbs and adjectives to express the idea of intensity or duration is occasionally encountered, as in SPP:

plenti plenti blakboi *'lots of black labourers'*

Taken as a whole, the potential of NGP for lexical expansion from internal resources is still very restricted, this property being characteristic of any pidgin at this stage of its life-cycle.

4.4. THE LEXICON OF EXPANDED NGP

4.4.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The realisation that pidgins can be classified not only in terms of their social functions or domains (e.g. trade jargons, plantation pidgins, tourist pidgins) but also in terms of their structural complexity, is a relatively recent one. Traditionally, pidgins were characterised in terms of definitions such as:

> For a language to be a true pidgin, two conditions must be met: its grammatical structure and its vocabulary must be sharply reduced ..., and also the resultant language must be native to none of those who use it.
>
> (Hall 1966:xii)

"A pidgin, however, is so limited, both lexically and structurally, that it is suitable only for specialized and limited communication." (DeCamp 1971:16). Since the early 1970s a number of writers (e.g.

[1] The development of morphological causations and the role of causations in NGP is at present being investigated by Edmonson and Mühlhäusler (forthcoming).

Samarin 1971:117-40; Mühlhäusler 1972:16-8; Todd 1974b:4) have expressed their uneasiness with the static view which regards pidgins as reduced versions of another language or the result of a special type of language contact.[1] Instead, pidginists began to look at the "much overlooked innovative powers of a pidgin" (Samarin 1971:125).

Thus, it was found that, as pidgins are used in an increasing number of new functions, their linguistic complexity also increases. The result of NGP's continued expansion has been described by Wurm (1977:511) in the following terms:

> Pidgin shows the characteristics of a fully developed creole language: a comparatively rich vocabulary and quite complex grammar, a great flexibility of expression with highly developed and versatile idiomatic usages, a considerable range of possibilities of word-formation and the creation of new lexical items through processes inherent in the language itself, and the adequacy of the language for the expression of all aspects of Papua New Guinean life in its present transitory stage between the traditionally indigenous and the westernized.

NGP's structural expansion appears to have taken place at a time when the number of native speakers of this language was diminutive. Though the presence of small numbers of first language speakers may have contributed to its structural development,[2] it appears that the bulk of innovations originated among second language NGP speakers. Thus, the view that significant structural expansion of a pidgin only occurs with its creolisation can no longer be upheld.

NGP's structural expansion after 1920 is defined by two main developments, namely the emergence of sentence embedding and discourse structure and the development of a derivational lexicon. Both have contributed not only to NGP's increased expressive power but also to stylistic choice at all levels of grammar.

Whilst the influence of native speakers of NGP on its structural expansion cannot be excluded, it appears that the expansion of NGP's lexicon resulted mainly from 1) the borrowing of lexical inventory and structure from outside sources and its subsequent restructuring; and

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[1] Quite recently, Thomason and Kaufman (1975:32) have stated that "the complexity of a pidgin grammar depends on the degree of typological similarity between the languages that contribute to its formation." The static view that pidgins are the common denominator of the languages in contact during their formation, however, is quite inadequate as a characterisation of a dynamically expanding pidgin such as NGP. In addition there appears to be little empirical evidence to support the view that pidgins are the lowest common denominator even at the beginning of their life cycle.

[2] Instances of early creolisation were discussed in subsection 3.4.5.2. The case of Popeo village may be representative of similar developments elsewhere. Bickerton (personal communication, 22 October 1975) believes that this may have played an important role in NGP's stabilisation: "There is the possibility that NGP may have creolised and repidginised a number of times in the course of its history. Each of these processes would have contributed to the stabilisation of the language."

ii) the development of lexical structure out of syntactic structures. The remainder of this subchapter will illustrate both NGP's syncretic capacity and its innovative power.

Before presenting a discussion of the linguistic data from this stage it must be pointed out that the term 'expanded NGP' refers to a stage of its linguistic development. It embraces those developments which have taken place in Rural Pidgin since the early 1920s and which are, in some cases, still ongoing processes. The term 'expansion' further implies that the linguistic changes are gradual and continuous rather than abrupt, as with NGP's post-pidgin stage where its structure is involved in a severe conflict with English.

4.4.2. *THE LEXICAL INVENTORY*

4.4.2.1. Introduction

A large proportion of the additions to NGP's lexicon during this stage are derived lexical items, i.e. items generated from internal resources. However, on a smaller scale, lexical borrowing remains a source of lexical enrichment.

With the decrease in relative importance of Tolai and with the removal of German as an official language, the main source for new lexical bases is English. However, the continued non-intimacy between speakers of English and speakers of Rural Pidgin has not lead to drastic changes in this variety of NGP. Instead, the lexical information contained even in newly borrowed items is restructured and fitted to the lexical structures of NGP.

4.4.2.2. Additions and Replacements

The continued expansion of NGP's communicative functions has led to a sizeable increase in the number of its lexical bases over the last five years. However, if one considers that many additions which are reported were made in an *ad hoc* way and that only a small proportion of them have become more widely accepted, the total increase of new lexical bases remains moderate.

Additions[1] to NGP's lexical inventory from English are marked as such in a number of vocabularies and dictionaries, e.g. those of

[1] Lewis (1951:43) has commented on the desire on the part of speakers of NGP to learn new English vocabulary: "Many times I have noticed my 'boys' at a short distance listening intently while I was speaking English to some European, evidently trying to catch some new words."

Borchardt (1926), Schebesta and Meiser (1945) and the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.). New lexical bases borrowed between 1920 and 1930, for instance, include:

NGP	Gloss
bigin	*'to begin'*
siki	*'cheeky'*
sitim	*'to cheat'*
duti	*'duty'*
resis	*'race, competition'*
wot	*'word'*
rong	*'wrong'*
saiten	*'sergeant'*
salapim	*'to slap'*
foldim	*'to fold'*
fri	*'free'*
helpim	*'to help'*
met	*'a mate'*
neba	*'neighbour'*
minit	*'minute'*
sem	*'shame, ashamed'*
promis	*'promise'*
kwin	*'queen'*

With NGP firmly established as a language of intertribal communication, loans from local vernaculars were of some importance in the 1920s and 1930s. However, few of these innovations, with the exception of some of Tolai origin, gained wider currency in NGP, since the mechanisms for their spread were lacking. Regional vocabulary is in evidence in a number of previously important recruiting areas in the Bismarck Archipelago such as New Ireland and Manus. New Ireland regional vocabulary was listed by Kutscher (n.d.):

New Ireland Pidgin	Gloss
pudel, pudelim	*'heap, to heap'*
tapak	*'leprosy'*
talambar	*'picture'*
ramitim	*'to kiss, to lick'*
palar	*'flat'*
pirpir, pir	*'story'*
hea	*'handle'*
kurbis	*'lobster, crayfish'*
okln	*'kangaroo'*

New Ireland Pidgin	Gloss
krani	*'clover'*
muar	*'parrot'*
kungal	*'fungus'*
komoskim	*'to weld'*
varkia	*'to change (dress)'*

Items which had currency on Manus Island in the 1920s are given by Borchardt (1926) whilst Smythe (n.d.) provides additional ones current after World War II. The author has found, however, that many of these items have since been replaced by more standard forms.

i) provided by Borchardt (1926):

Manus Pidgin	Gloss
bulukal	*'sago boiled with water'*
burukin	*'dish'*
burumbut	*'to tread on'*
kaur	*'bamboo'*
kauvas	*'friend, gift'*

ii) items listed by Smythe (n.d.):

Manus Pidgin	Gloss
mangang	*'to become silent, to be at a loss for words'*
angkau	*'false, pseudo-'*
bilele	*'goat'*
guma	*'snail'*

The only item listed by both Borchardt and Smythe which is still widely used in Manus Pidgin is miningulai *'sea eagle'*. New regional vocabulary was found by the author on Manus in 1974, including:

Manus Pidgin	Gloss
wusiai	*'landlubber'*
matankor	*'coastal dweller'*[1]
maniani	*'slow, steady "isi-isi"'*
piak	*'to fart'*

NGP in the area around Rabaul is characterised by the continued dependence on Tolai as a lexifier language. However, with the decline in importance of the Gazelle Peninsula as the centre of the economic life of the country, many lexical innovations recorded in the 1930s and later remain restricted to this area. Examples of items of Tolai origin used in NGP as spoken around Rabaul are listed, for instance, by Dahmen (1957). They include:

[1] Cf. remarks by Mead (1956:277).

Rabaul Pidgin	Gloss
varkurai	*'court case, debate'*
vinamut	*'silence, peace, retreat'*
kukuvai	*'umbrella'*
kulkulup	*'cup, drinking vessel'*
vivingul	*'flute, to play the flute'*

The items tagamaso *'sawdust'* and sugu *'fag, cigarette'*, found to be used in Rabaul Pidgin in 1974, are of no known origin.

Whereas the items listed so far were found in geographically restricted areas, a number of loans from non-English sources have become more widely accepted in expanded NGP. One such category are certain exclamations including:

NGP	Source language	Gloss
maiau	Tolai	*'what about me!, certainly'*
nansai	Yakamul	exclamation used to attract members of the opposite sex
yakabor	Yakamul[1]	expression of surprise

Other widely used items introduced during NGP's expansion stage are:

bingim	Tolai	*'to press down, squeeze'*
matakiau	?	*'one-eyed, short-sighted'*
aismalang	?	*'homosexual'*
mangal	?	*'to covet, envy'*
wawa(n)	?	*'to rock, sway'*

The fact that many loans from local vernaculars are used in areas of communication which usually do not involve Europeans has meant that such additions to NGP's lexicon have often gone unnoticed by lexicographers. Though the author was able to ascertain the wide use of some hitherto unrecorded items, more detailed work on this aspect of the NGP lexicon is needed.

The lexical inventory of expanded NGP differs from that found in the earlier stages of its development not only because of the addition of new borrowed items but also because of the replacement of older ones. The two main types of lexical replacement found are i) the replacement of higher level items by word bases[2]; and ii) the replacement of lexical

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[1] Roosman (1975:233) suggests another origin for this item, namely "the pidginization of Ya, Allahu Akbar! 'Oh, Allah is Great!', often expressed by Moslems also as an exclamation of surprise." This form may have entered NGP through the mediation of Malay plantation workers.

[2] Reed (1943:280) discusses a number of such replacements in the 1920s and 1930s. He observes: "Circumlocutions are still necessary, it is true, but cases like those above show that the native is quick to adopt simpler modes of expression whenever he can borrow or invent them."

bases of German origin by others of (mainly) English origin. Type i) is found in cases such as:

Older higher level item	Word level Replacement	Gloss
putim mak long pepa	rait	*'to write'*
ples bilong slip	bet	*'bed'*
skru bilong lek	ni	*'knee'*
plet bilong bokis musik	rekot	*'musical record'*
sit bilong binen	hani	*'honey'*
spik i tru	bilip	*'belief'*
tok tru antap	promis	*'to promise'*

The replacement of lexical bases of German origin was of relatively minor importance in the years before World War II but has become very noticeable since. Today, the majority of lexical bases of German origin are restricted to regional or social varieties, in particular the speech of older people in areas previously under German control.[1] Some examples of this type of lexical replacement are:

Lexical bases of German origin	Replacement	Gloss
balaistip	pensil	*'pencil'*
sule	skul	*'school'*
kese	sis	*'cheese'*
gabel	pok	*'fork'*
esel	donki	*'donkey'*
kakalak	kokoros	*'cockroach'*
links	lep, kais	*'left hand'*

More remarks on the replacement of items of German origin have been made by Hall (1956a:105), Healey (1975:39) and Mühlhäusler (1975d:106).

So far, this section has dealt with spontaneous changes in NGP's lexical inventory. To complete the picture, a few remarks on the impact of vocabulary planning must be made.

The main proponents of deliberate changes in NGP's lexical inventory were the various Catholic mission bodies. Their efforts were guided by i) the necessity to provide an adequate terminology, in particular

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[1] The author has recorded two instances in which items of German origin have survived in a more specialised meaning; both examples were recorded in Erima village in the Madang Province and appear to be of restricted currency:

NGP	Meaning of German Source Item	Meaning Today
sange	*pliers*	*'hand of crayfish'*
hobel	*plane*	*'wooden frame of a plane'*

To refer to the tools *'plane'* and *'pliers'*, plen and plals are used.

ethical and doctrinal terms; and ii) aesthetic and moral considerations. Unfortunately, the efforts to enrich NGP's lexicon were not co-ordinated and, as a result, one finds significant discrepancies between the various mission dialects. Compare:

Alexishafen NGP	Vunapope NGP	Rabaul NGP	Gloss
God	Deo	God	*'God'*
kilim	mekim dai	kilim	*'to kill'*
brukim pasin bilong marit	pilai nogut	mekim trabel long meri	*'adultery'*
lai	giaman	giaman	*'to lie'*

In many cases it is difficult to locate the geographic origin of individual mission innovations. Thus, the following table will illustrate the profusion of terms in use in one or another locality. The following abbreviations are used in referring to their linguistic origin: E = English; G = German; L = local languages; CP = compounding; Ex = extension of meaning; LA = Latin; PH = phrase formation.

Gloss	Terms used by different Catholic missions			
'acolyte'	ministran(G)	altaboi(CP)	kundar(L)	
'incense'	wairau(G)	insens(E)	smelsmok(CP)	smok smel(PH)
'church'	kirke(G)	sios(E)	haus lotu(PH)	
'cross'	diwai kros(PH)	kruse(LA)	bolo(L)	
'to believe'	bilip(E)	nurnur(L)	tok i tru(PH)	
'heart'	bel(Ex)	hat(E)	liva(Ex)	
'procession'	prosesio(LA)	varvaliu(L)		
'rosary'	roseri(E)	kurkurua(L)	corona(LA)	
'holy'	holi(E)	santu(LA)	takondo(L)	
'to pray'	pre(E)	beten(G)	raring(L)	
'sin'	sin(E)	pekato(LA)		
'hell'	hel(E)	imperno(LA)	bikpaia(CP)	
'to forgive'	pogivim(E)	larim(Ex)	lusim(Ex)	
'virgin'	vetsin(E)	virgo(LA)	meri i stap tambu(PH)	
'ascension'	goap bilong Jesus(PH)	asensio(LA)		

Attempts by the missions in the 1930s and 1940s to purify NGP's lexicon were generally unsuccessful. The reason for this appears to have been the German missionaries' failure to recognise NGP items with 'obscene etymologies'. Thus bagarap *'to bugger up, to ruin'* could survive because its English meaning was not known to the German speaking missionaries who were in charge of compiling Pidgin dictionaries. Schebesta and Meiser (1945:13) provide "beggared up" as the etymology, adding "in English to beggar is transitive, to ruin oneself, but here the effect is taken". The *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.) on the

other hand gives the etymology "bankrupt". The etymology of sit *'shit, ashes'* is not known to the authors of this dictionary, nor is that of kan *'female genitals'*. Vocabulary planning by agencies other than the missions appears to have been of even less influence, both because of the lack of consistent planning policies and the absence of mechanisms for their implementation.

Thus, changes in the inventory of lexical bases of expanded NGP are the result of moderate but continued borrowing from English and, to a lesser degree, other sources. Hall (1956a:104) remarks on the impact of NGP's continued contact with English on its lexical growth;

> In 1943, the present writer was able to gather from all sources approximately 1,000 words; in 1954, approximately 1,500. Even allowing for a possible margin of omission in the earlier count, it is still clear that the vocabulary of Neo-Melanesian has increased by nearly half in the last two decades; and the process is still continuing at an accelerating rate.

4.4.2.3. Lexical Information in Expanded NGP

4.4.2.3.1. *Phonological and Morphological Information*

Phonological and morphological restructuring of items of English origin can be observed throughout NGP's expansion period, and recent additions such as pusel *'Bushell's tea'*, tasim *'to touch'* or pens *'pants'*, recorded by the author in 1973 and 1974, show that restructuring is an ongoing process. Unfortunately, the spelling conventions used in most dictionaries do not reflect this. Two exceptions are the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.), reflecting the pronunciation of the Bogia and Manam Island areas, and Smythe's unpublished materials on Manus NGP (n.d.):

1) Phonetic spelling in the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (approximately 1935):

Spelling provided	Standard spelling	Gloss
arafelo, arfelo	arapela	*'another'*
anglssip, anges	hankisip	*'handkerchief'*
bol	boll	*'to boil'*
brus, burs	brus	*'chest'*
tambulo	daunbilo	*'down (below)'*
kuap	goap	*'to climb, copulate'*
innining	ivning	*'evening'*

ii) Phonetic spelling of Smythe:

Spelling provided	Standard spelling	Gloss
antek	-	*'on deck!'*
gwan	goan	*'go ahead!'*
haswok	hatwok	*'to work hard'*
desela	dispela	*'this'*
kopirul	kopral	*'corporal'*
bosai	-	*'bull's eye'*
katuana	-	*'guard of honour'*

iii) Some instances of extensive phonological restructuring of lexical items borrowed during the expansion phase are also found in Mihalic's dictionary (1971), representing standard spelling. Examples include:

Standard NGP	Gloss
kanis	*'canvass'*
sekan[1]	*'to shake hands, make peace'*
bainat	*'bayonet'*

Future spelling reforms should take into account the pronunciations current in expanded Rural Pidgin.

The adaption of items borrowed from English to the phonological mould of NGP has led to a gradual increase in the number of homophones. Whilst this does not jeopardise the normal functioning of this language, it can lead to undesirable ambiguity in some cases. To overcome this problem, a number of processes have been employed in phonological restructuring which disambiguate undesired homophones. They include reduplication, compounding, and certain sound changes.

The use of reduplication for disambiguation has been shown to exist in a number of pidgins[2] (cf. Todd 1974b:75). However, clearcut cases are only very few in NGP. In dictionaries and vocabularies compiled

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[1]The extent of phonological restructuring found with this item can be seen from a remark by Shelton-Smith (1929):

> So much a master was I that I discovered a "pidgin" word that no one had heard of before, not even the Government interpreters. It was "chacun", and meant to make peace. I was allowed to enjoy pride in my discovery for several days, until someone pointed out that my profound etymological discovery was nothing more than "shake hands", pronounced in native fashion, "shakund". After that discomfiture, I made no others, with every-day "pidgin".

[2]Disambiguation by means of reduplication is also reported for some varieties of French. Thus Ullmann (1962:183) writes:

> An amusing case of ambiguity in the culinary sphere is that of French pomme 'apple' and pomme 'potato', the latter short for pomme de terre. The problem is sometimes solved by referring to the fruit as pomme de l'air, pomme-fruit, or even pomme-pomme.

before 1935 both *'ship'* and *'sheep'* are listed as sip. At the same time, the replacement of German derived kiliva *'jib'* is introduced as sipsip. However, from about the mid 1930s the form sipsip is also reported for *'sheep'*. In present-day NGP the distinction sip *'ship'* - sipsip *'sheep'* is firmly established, whilst kiliva continues to be in use, perhaps because of the desire to avoid a homophone sipsip *'sheep'* and *'jib'*.

The form sosoim[1] *'to saw'* is mentioned for the first time by Borchardt (1926) and it appears that the reduplication in this example was introduced to avoid the homophone soim *'to saw'* - *'to show'*; however, a confusion of these two meanings was relatively unlikely, and in later dictionaries soim is used in both meanings. A third case is that of mak, glossed in dictionaries before 1935 as both *'mark, shilling'* and *'mark, pattern'*; in the latter meaning the form makmak is now widely accepted.

Only two examples of disambiguation by means of compounding have been found by the author and neither of them appears to be widely used. The forms on record are lip *'leaf'* versus lipmaus *'lip of mouth'* and sit *'shit'* versus sitpaia *'shit of fire = ashes'*, the compounds having replaced the forms lip *'lips'* and sit *'ashes'*.

A more common form of lexical disambiguation is the use of different sound segments with items which would sound identical if usual phonological restructuring had applied. Two instances are:

English	Expected form in NGP	Actual form in NGP
'cork'	kok	kor
'cock'	kok	kok
'born'	bon	bon
'bone'	bon	bun

This process is used not only in cases of phonological conflation in NGP of items which are distinct in the lexifier language but also with items which speakers of NGP regard as homophones rather than single polysemic items. The development of doublets[2] has been observed by the author in various localities, and some of the instances recorded appear to be of wide geographic distribution. Examples are:

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[1] An additional reason may be that sosoim *'to saw'* violates a derivational constraint specifying that verbs derived from noun bases cannot be reduplicated.

[2] The development of doublets is common in the linguistic history of languages other than pidgins and creoles. A discussion as well as numerous references are given by Paul (1970:230).

	NGP	Related item in lexifier language	Locality	Gloss
i)	pilo	*pillow*	Erima	*'wooden support for floor of a building'*
	pero			*'wooden neck support'*
ii)	manki	*monkey*	distinction widely known	*'young boy/girl'*
	monki			*'monkey, ape, sawing trestle'*
iii)	nil	*nail*	Goroka	*'metal nails, thorns, prickles'*
	nel			*'finger-nail'*
iv)	bak	*bag*	distinction widely known	*'pocket'*
	bek			*'bag, sack'*
v)	bal	*ball*	distinction widely known	*'(foot)ball'*
	bol			*'testicle, buckshot'*
vi)	pulpul	Tolai: purupur *'ornamental leaves'*	distinction widely known	*'flower, skirt'*
	pupulu			*'love charm'*

A special case of doublets is where terms have been borrowed in both the singular and plural form, each having a different meaning. Examples are:

	NGP	From English	Gloss
i)	kas	*cards*	*'playing cards'*
	kat	*card*	*'(identification) card'*
ii)	fut	*foot*	*'foot'*
	fit	*feet*	*'unit of measurement (foot, feet)'*

At present, no complete phonological analysis of expanded NGP is available. However, cases such as the ones just listed and studies of certain aspects of its phonology, e.g. Pawley's study of epenthetic vowels (1975:215-28) or Tetaga's investigation of prenasalisation (n.d.), suggest the strong presence of developments independent of its lexifier languages.

4.4.2.3.2. *Syntactic Information*

One of the characteristic developments with regard to the syntactic behaviour of lexical items in this phase is that such behaviour can be subsumed under general rules rather than being part of the unpredictable syntactic information accommodated in individual lexical bases. This manifests itself, for instance, in the development of stable conventions about the shift of categorical status of lexical bases (cf. Chapter 5).

A second characteristic of NGP's expansion phase is the development of a set of 'grammatical words', such as relativisers and complementisers, which are used in the encoding of derivationally complex sentences. Rather than being borrowed, most of these items appear to have resulted from changes in their syntactic information.

So far, little empirical research has been carried out on the development of embedding in NGP, a notable exception being Sankoff and Brown's study (1975) of the origin of relativisers. It is argued there that there are a number of strong candidates in natural languages as the source of relativisers, particularly the wh- pronouns. The author's own observations confirm that at least one of these, we *'where?'*, has developed into a relativiser in a number of varieties of expanded NGP. The use of husat *'who?'* as a relativiser is also documented, though this may be a carry-over from English.

Another, apparently rapidly spreading, way of signalling relativisation is the use of ya *'here, or emphasiser'* as a device for bracketing off embedded relative clauses from their matrix sentence. Sankoff and Brown (1975:66) suggest a development involving several instances of restructuring of syntactic information:

> Our reconstruction follows simply from this historical account, that is, we propose that (1) the original "place adverb" ia was (2) extended for use as a postposed deictic or demonstrative, which was then (3) extended for general "bracketing" use, including topic-comment structures, relativization, and cleft sentences. That these uses are semantically and functionally related has been shown in sections IV-VIII.
>
> We are now in a position to relate this development to the creolization process. First, we know that the existence of creole speakers of Tok Pisin in any significant numbers can be dated no earlier than the mid-1950's, and we have five attested ia-marked relatives from more than a decade earlier. Certainly there is no reason why fluent second-language speakers of Tok Pisin could not have made the transfer between stages (2) and (3) in the use of ia. That indeed they did so is confirmed by the adults in our sample, who have this usage well established in their speech and have not learned it from their children.

An expansion of the syntactic functions of certain lexical bases can also be observed with the development of complementisers; it appears that present-day complementisers have developed from at least three different sources:

i) the prepositions long and bilong;
ii) the sentence adverbials olsem and baimbai;
iii) verbal concatenation as in se.

i) Evidence of the development of complementisers out of prepositions may be regarded as support for the 'localist hypothesis', which claims that "the extension of the use of cases from marking local and concrete relationships to their use in marking abstract or syntactic

relationships" (Washabaugh 1975:6) is a regular and universal process. The development of prepositions into complementisers has also been observed in languages other than pidgins and creoles. A number of cases are discussed by Paul (1970:370ff). However, the question of their status in universal grammar cannot be discussed here.

Both of the general prepositions found in stabilised NGP, bilong and long, are also found as complementisers in expanded NGP, bilong usually indicating a purpose or permanent property, as in:

NGP	Gloss
em i bin mekim dispela wok BILONG helpim mipela	*'he did this in order to help us'*
em i man BILONG mekim planti hambak	*'he is someone who does a lot of fornicating'*

Long, on the other hand, serves a number of other purposes, mainly to signal complement sentences embedded in subject or object position:

NGP	Gloss
ol i no tingting LONG ol i lusim bikpela mani	*'they are not aware of the fact that they are losing a lot of money'*
i rong LONG misinari i wokim planti skul	*'it is wrong that the missionaries should set up many schools'*

The historical development of these types of complementation appears to be one in which the formal marking of the embedded sentence has developed very gradually. The earliest grammars of NGP (Brenninkmeyer 1924 and Borchardt 1930) only list instances involving bilong. Sankoff (personal communication) has pointed out that in these instances bilong introduces infinitives, gerunds and other kinds of non-finite verbs. The introduction of finite verbs in embedded sentences is not marked at this stage. Typical examples (from Brenninkmeyer 1924) are:

NGP	Gloss
mi ting em i go pinis	*'I think he has gone'*
i gut yumi go	*'it is good for us to go, let us go'*

The earliest example of the use of long as a complementiser which has come to the attention of the present writer, is given by Hall (1943:62):

NGP	Gloss
kiap i no laik LONG mi long mekim taim	*'the kiap does not want me to get myself indentured'*

In texts recorded after World War II a drastic increase of this use of long can be observed, and its strong presence is felt particularly among the generation who learnt NGP after this date.

ii) The development of complementisers out of sentence adverbials illustrates yet another way in which changes in the syntactic information of certain lexical bases provide new mechanisms for the embedding of sentences. The use of both olsem and baimbai (bai) as complementisers precedes that of long, the earliest examples on record being in a letter by Tividele from New Hannover, written around 1913:

NGP	Gloss
mi laik PABAI iu givemi long en	*'I want you to give it to me'*
mi tokiu OLSEM mi laik save tok bolog iu	*'I am telling you that I want to know your opinion'*

Further examples were found in the texts appended to Hall's grammar (1943b):

NGP	Gloss
em i OLSEM nau long nait em i dai	*'It happened that he died during the night'* (p.61)
mi no mekim trabol BAIMBAI mi go kot	*'I have not committed a crime so that I have to go to the court'* (p.65)

Hall's two sentences illustrate the putative development of olsem and baimbai from adverbials to complementisers since, in his examples, their status is open to multiple interpretation.

iii) A last instance of development of a complementiser is that involving verb serialisation, the lexical base involved being se. Originally used as an independent verb, se has become a complementiser following verbs of saying, proclaiming, etc. The putative development may have involved the following four steps:

i) se becomes collocationally restricted, i.e. it is used only together with other verbs of similar semantic content as in em i tok i se *'he said, was saying'*, or em i ting i se *'he thought'*.

ii) The i joining the two verbs is dropped because of the semantic similarity of the concatenated verbs, e.g. em i tok se: mi laik kam *'he said: I want to come'*.

iii) Sentences in which the speaker is non-co-referential with the agent of the reported event neutralise the distinction between direct and indirect speech, as in em i tok se papa i gat sik *'he said: the father is ill'* or *'he said, that the father was ill'*.

iv) se is reinterpreted as a complementiser following certain verbs rather than as an independent verb in concatenation. Conventions for the treatment of pronouns in the embedded sentence are introduced at the same time, yielding sentences such as em i tok se em i laik kam *'he said that he'd like to come'*.

The development of complementisers and relativisers in expanded NGP illustrates how the syntactic information of existing lexical bases is expanded to fulfil new functions in connection with the increase of derivational depth in NGP syntax. Similar developments can also be observed with the development of new aspect markers and prepositions. These will not be considered here. Some observations have been made by Hall (1955a:94ff.).

4.4.2.3.3. *Semantic Information*

The developments in lexical semantics during NGP's expansion manifest themselves as two opposing forces. On the one hand, there is a very strong tendency to replace some of the semantically vague lexical items found in early stabilised NGP with others of more specific semantic content; on the other hand one finds the extension of the range of meanings of some lexical bases. Thus the desire for greater precision and the need for greater referential adequacy are in continuous conflict. However, the emergence of programs for the formation of lexical items and lexical redundancy rules provides the necessary linguistic tools to overcome this conflict; mechanisms for the combination of lexical bases meet the need for an increased number of new terms and the development of tighter conventions for the expansion of meaning replaces the *ad hoc* ways in which meaning was extended in earlier stages of NGP's development.

The narrowing down of the range of meanings associated with individual lexical bases is most pronounced in the 'everyday' vocabulary of NGP, some examples being:

Lexical item in stabilised NGP	Lexical 'Specialisation' in expanded NGP	Gloss
1) me(me)	meme	*'goat'*
	sipsip	*'sheep'*
2) pisin	abus	*'land animal'*
	pisin	*'bird'*
3) skin	sel	*'shell, husk'*
	skin	*'skin, bark, peel'*
4) harim	smelim	*'to smell s.th.'*
	pilim	*'to feel s.th.'*
	harim	*'to hear s.th.'*
5) kaunim	ritim	*'to read'*
	kaunim	*'to count, recognise'*
6) san	de	*'day'*
	san	*'sun'*
7) sande	wik	*'week'*
	sande	*'Sunday'*

Lexical item in stabilised NGP	Lexical 'Specialisation' in expanded NGP	Gloss
8) tudak	klaut	*'cloud'*
	tudak	*'dark cloud, evening'*
9) wara	riva	*'river'*
	wara	*'water'*
10) peim	baim	*'to buy'*
	peim	*'to pay'*
11) sop	rinso	*'soap powder'*
	sop	*'soap bar'*
12) rip	karanas	*'coral, coral rubble'*
	rip	*'reef'*
	siparam	*'reef in open sea'*
13) puinga	pairap	*'(audible) fart'*
	kapupu	*'(smelling) fart'*
	puinga	*'(odourless) fart'*

An expansion of the semantic content found with individual lexical bases is encountered mainly in two cases: i) in the development of special terminologies and ii) in certain special registers such as tok piksa. An example of the first case is in the field of building and engineering, where a number of lexical bases have acquired new technical meanings:

NGP	Ordinary meaning	Technical meaning
kiau	*'egg'*	*'electric bulb'*
ki	*'key'*	*'faucet'*
kalabus	*'prison'*	*'vice'*
sparen	*'rafter'*	*'spoke'*
ring	*'ring'*	*'washer'*
mama	*'mother'*	*'nut (of bolt)'*
garamut	*'slit gong'*	*'muffler'*
taur	*'conch shell'*	*'horn of car'*

The second case, special registers of NGP, is treated in section 4.8.4. The discussion of the lexical inventory of expanded NGP will be left here and the remainder of this subchapter will deal with the systematic aspects of its lexicon.

4.4.3. *THE LEXICAL SYSTEM IN EXPANDED NGP*

4.4.3.1. The Emergence of New Semantic Fields

A new aspect of the lexicon in expanded NGP is the emergence of folk taxonomies providing new names for plants and animals and, to a lesser degree, for other referents. The pattern which has been observed by a number of writers including the present author uses ordinal numbers to distinguish certain concepts which in NGP share the same generic name

(biknem). The origin of such a classification may be traced back to distinctions such as nambawan kiap *'head kiap'* as against nambatu kiap *'assistant kiap'*, and the naming system for the months of the year (nambawan mun *'January'*; nambatu mun *'February'*, etc.) reported by Murphy (1966:30). The use of ordinal numbers has become extended, however, to cover distinctions which do not involve counting.

The use of these classifications is widespread, though no detailed study about its extent or regional variation has yet been made. The following list provides an illustration of this kind of classification, as recorded by the author in Erima Nambis in the Madang Province:

Pidgin	Descriptive Phrase Provided	English
nambawan balus	i no wait tru, i dakwait	*'grey pigeon'*
nambatu balus	i wait tru	*'white pigeon'*
nambawan galip	bilong yumi man i planim	*'planted nut tree'*
nambatu galip	strongpela bilong bus	*'tree with hard nuts growing wild'*
nambatri galip	bilong bus tasol	*'nut tree growing in bush'*
nambawan kabis	kabis tru	*'cabbage'*
nambatu kabis	i kamap long wara	*'watercress'*[1]
nambawan kwila	waitpela	*'white ironwood'*
nambatu kwila	retpela	*'red ironwood'*
nambawan moran	blakpela skin	*'python (black skin)'*
nambatu moran	skin i gat makmak	*'python (speckled)'*
nambawan palai	long wokim kundu	*'monitor (skin used for drums)'*
nambatu palai	so i sanap	*'lizard (serrated back)'*
nambatri palai	bilong kokonas	*'lizard (lives in coconut trees)'*
nambapo palai	bilong haus	*'gecko (lives in the house)'*
nambapaip palai	bilong bus	*'lizard (lives in the bush)'*

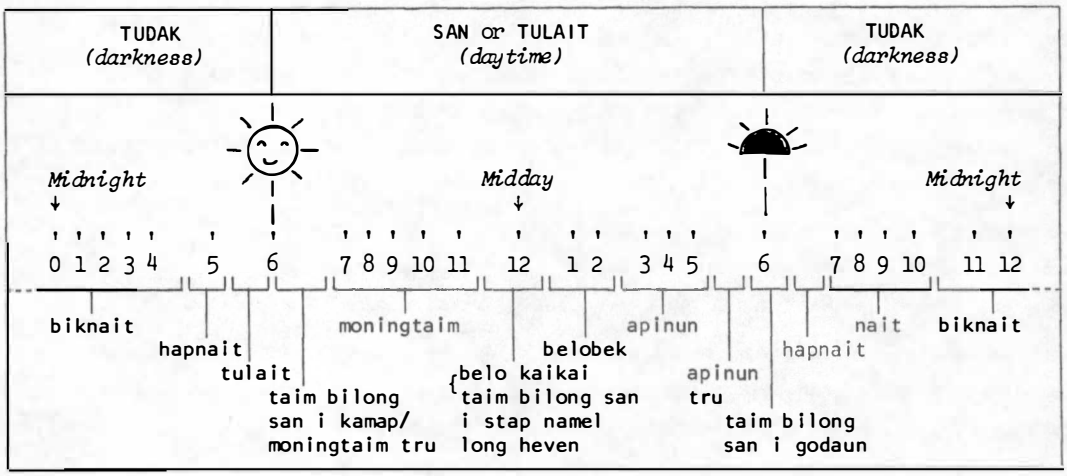
Dr D.C. Laycock (personal communication) has pointed out to the author that the male (red) and the female (green) of the parrot *Lorius Roratus* are referred to as nambawan kalangal and nambatu kalangal respectively. Another example observed by the author at a number of medical aid posts are the names nambawan kus *'cold in the nose'* and nambatu kus *'sore throat, cough'*.

Another lexical field found in expanded NGP is that of names for the different times of day. The following scheme taken from Dutton (1973:

[1] A lexical item of Malay origin, kango, is used more commonly as a name for *'watercress'* (cf. Roosman 1975:230). In addition the item waragras *'water grass'* is heard, derived from the English source item by folk etymology.

60) illustrates the use of lexical bases, compounds and lexical phrases to refer to significant points in the time continuum.

Each 24-hour day is divided up in the following way in NGP:



With the expansion of NGP's function to cover traditional topics of discourse, certain conventions about names for concepts of traditional religion have emerged. Brash (1975:326) observes that this indicates that "Pidgin has demonstrated its capacity for the expression of spiritual concepts". The semantic field of traditional religion in expanded NGP comprises the following items:

NGP	Gloss
tewel	*'a deceased's spirit, benevolent or malign, inhabiting the area in which the death which released it occurred'*
tambaran	*'an ancestral spirit, not malign as such, but may become so through man's negligence'*. Often have special functions at rites and initiation ceremonies. Typically only initiated males take part in the tambaran worship.
masalai	*'usually a malign demon or spirit; inhabiting streams, rocks, trees and other areas not normally entered by humans'*. May do great harm to those who enter its domain.

Related to the terms for spirits are those used to refer to certain types of sorcery:

NGP	Gloss
marila	*'love spell or love charm'*
poisin	*'black magic, sorcery, evil spell'*
sanguma	*'magic which kills, secret murder committed by a sorcerer, such as by inserting thorns into the victim'*

NGP	Gloss
papait	*'sorcery or spell worked through some charmed object being hidden in the recipient's usual dwelling'*
bembe	*'spells intended to procure European kind of wealth, cargo cult magic'*
pupulu	*'a love charm, often synonymous with* marila*'*

The NGP terms in these two domains represent something like a common denominator of the most important religious systems of Papua New Guinea.[1] They typically do not reflect the semantic systems of any one language but relate to the terms found in local vernaculars in a one-to-many relation.

In addition to the semantic fields discussed in this section so far, there are others which more closely reflect the status of NGP as a contact medium between indigenous and European cultures. One example, which has been discussed in detail by Laycock (1967:51-5 and 1966:49-53), are terms in a number of card games played by Papua New Guineans. Another example of a European game which has been adopted by some local people is chess, for which NGP has its own system of names:

NGP (terms collected among students from UPNG)	Gloss
masta	*'king'*
misis	*'queen'*
roket	*'bishop'*
hos	*'knight'*
ambrela	*'castle'*
soldia	*'pawn'*

As a last example of a semantic field in expanded NGP here follows a list of names for various kinds of people, reflecting the social structure of the contact culture which uses NGP as its medium:

NGP	English
ausaitman, arereman	*'someone not belonging to any group, particularly religious group'*
misinari	*'a missionary, a person expecting preferential treatment, an abstainer'*
kanaka	*'uneducated, backwoods native'*

[1] Salisbury (1967:47) remarks:

> Characteristic of this Pidgin vocabulary are words like *masalai* (nature spirits) or *saguma* (telepathic sorcery). They are religious concepts foreign to the Tolai, but common throughout much of New Guinea. Where the Tolai had terms for generally held concepts - *tubuna* (ancestors), *tabaran* (generalised ancestral spirits), *tubuan* (specific ancestral figures), *malira* (love *magic*) - these have been accepted, although Tolai terms for less generally held concepts such as *tulungen* (guardian spirits) have not been accepted.

Further remarks on this area of the lexicon are made by Murphy (1966:18-19) and Brash (1975:376).

NGP	English
lusman	*'someone who has suffered in the city, an angry young man, loser'*
wanpis	*'loner'*
poro (man)	*'mate'*
wantok	*'someone who speaks the same language, compatriot'*
loman	*'generous person, person living up to one's expectations'*
pulman	*'real man, hard worker'*
bikman	*'important person, traditional chief'*
man nating	*'ordinary person, man in the street'*
man bilong gohet	*'innovator, vigorous person'*
soimman	*'someone serving as an example to others'*

An inspection of the terms in the various semantic fields shows the frequency of lexical phrases and compounds. The formation of lexical items which made possible the development of NGP's lexical flexibility will now be investigated in detail.

4.4.3.2. The Formation of Lexical Items

4.4.3.2.1. *Introduction*

The development of a complex 'derivational' lexicon beginning in the early 1920s and still taking place today can be regarded as NGP's answer to the continued need for new names. The aim of this section is to demonstrate that the development of a lexical subcomponent for the formation of lexical items is a gradual process involving a number of linguistically significant stages.

The following general tendencies in the growth of the derivational lexicon have been observed:

i) a continued increase in the number of productive lexical programs

ii) an increase in the distance between lexical structures and syntactic structures, in particular a tendency for lexical items to shift down from higher to lower lexical size levels

iii) an increase in the numbers of lexical items related to individual lexical programs, i.e. increase in productivity.

The forces which have led to the present system of formation of lexical items are many and appear to be related to one another in a complex way. Among the forces operative in the development of individual programs are:

i) borrowing of programs from NGP's lexifier languages

ii) new programs arising out of syntactic patterns
iii) lexical syncretism.

The questions to be dealt with here concern, first, that of the origin of the various programs for the formation of lexical items and, second, that of salient tendencies in their subsequent development. Since no first hand observations about the origin of lexical programs are available, one can only hypothesise about the factors involved. Such hypotheses can be supported by indirect evidence gained from observations made about lexical programs found synchronically in the various social varieties of NGP (cf. section 4.8.2.). Remarks on the subsequent development of lexical programs, on the other hand, can be made with more confidence, since the lexical items recorded in numerous vocabularies and dictionaries compiled during the last fifty years provide a good indication of the numbers and nature of derived lexical items at different stages in NGP's history.

4.4.3.2.2. *Hypotheses about the Origin of Lexical Programs*

Whilst mechanisms for the formation of lexical items in NGP have been recognised by most observers writing after 1930, the problem of their origin has received very little attention.[1] This is not surprising, since virtually all linguistic descriptions of NGP have involved static synchronic accounts of its grammar.

An important point is that the development of a derivational lexicon in NGP began at a relatively late stage in its life-cycle, when its syntactic structures were already fully stabilised. Thus, any attempt to explain the origin of NGP's derivational lexicon in terms of simplifications occurring during the process of breaking down the lexicon of English or powerful influences from various substratum languages during its early stabilisation, cannot be regarded as adequate.

Instead, the origin of the various lexical programs appears to be the result of a number of forces operative in NGP's structural expansion. These can be subdivided into i) external influences, ii) internal resources, and iii) language independent forces. However, a strict separation between these individual forces cannot be made in all instances. The very character of a pidgin language - that of being a receptacle of linguistic structure from several sources - is indicative of the simultaneous impact of several forces at any given stage of its structural expansion. Nevertheless, a separate treatment of individual factors will serve to increase the clarity of presentation.

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[1] Some preliminary remarks about the origin of multifunctionality and reduplication have been made by Mühlhäusler (1975a:36-45 and 1975f:209-12).

4.4.3.2.3. *External Influences*

This subsection will deal with the effect of the lexical system of English and Melanesian languages on the emergence of lexical programs in NGP. The only Melanesian language considered here is Tolai, the reasons being i) that NGP first stabilised in the area of the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of Yorks and Southern New Britain where Tolai or closely related languages were spoken (cf. Beaumont 1972:1-17), ii) that Rabaul continued to be the most important single centre of NGP's spread well into its expansion stage, and iii) that Tolai can be regarded as representative of a large number of Melanesian languages. Thus, the demonstration of shared lexical structures in Tolai and NGP must be regarded as being representative of the role of Melanesian languages in NGP's expansion rather than an observationally adequate account of this part of NGP's history. Such an account is at present being prepared by Mosel (forthcoming).

The question of NGP's linguistic affiliation with either English or Melanesian languages has received much attention in earlier discussions. It is claimed on the one hand that "all varieties of Pidgin English have an underlying identity of structure with English" (Hall 1955a:72; this view is also supported by Hooley 1962:116-27); others, however, had the opposite view, for instance Salisbury (1967:44-8) and, for New Hebridean Bichelamar, Camden (1975). Doubts about the relevance of such claims have been expressed by Turner (1966:207) who refers to "the difficulty of assessing the relationship between the grammars of two languages when the grammars are likely to prove to be the grids we have ourselves imposed on the material."

The author does not propose to entirely solve this issue. However, he wants to suggest that the grammar of pidgin languages at all levels can contain elements from a number of sources and, moreover, that pidgins are likely to exhibit features shared by two or more of their lexifier languages. Camden's observations (1975:5) about Bichelamar that "while the Bislama lexical structure looks basically English to a native speaker of English, it also looks basically Tangoan to a native speaker of Tangoan" are equally applicable to NGP and its principal lexifier languages English and Tolai. In addition much of NGP's structural growth is independent of both source languages. An examination of the origin of a number of lexical programs does indeed suggest that those cases where both English and Tolai have corresponding lexical programs are most numerous and that, in addition, irregular changes in phonological information found in the lexifier languages are typically simplified in NGP. The cases considered are as follows:

i) Influences from Melanesian languages, in particular Tolai

Case 1: The relationship between intransitive and transitive verbals

A large number of intransitive verbs in Tolai appear in reduplicated form, while the corresponding transitive verbs are non-reduplicated. There is some evidence that this distinction was also made in NGP in the 1920s. Thus Nevermann (1929:256) draws attention to the fact that "wash is duplicated as the native word iu *'to wash'* and now corresponds to iuiu *'to bathe'* as washwash" (author's translation). This distinction is found in the following cases:

Intransitive verb form		Transitive verb form	
waswas	*'to bathe'*	wasim	*'to wash something'*
tingting	*'to think, ponder'*	tingim	*'to remember, think of'*
lukluk	*'to look'*	lukim	*'to see'*
toktok	*'to talk'*	tokim	*'to say s.th., speak to'*
singsing	*'to dance, sing'*	singim	*'to sing something'*
puspus	*'to make love'*	pusim	*'to make love to, shove'*
lotulotu	*'to go to church'*	lotuim	*'to worship someone'*

Case 2: The origin of MF Program 9

MF program 9[1] refers to instances of functional change where a verbal item having the meaning *'to come to a place, do something at a place'* is derived from a noun base referring to such a place, as in:

Tolai	NGP	English
bung (N)[2]	bung	*'market, gathering place'*
bung (V_{int})	bung	*'to gather, meet'*
lotu (N)[3]	lotu	*'church'*
lotu (V_{int})	lotu	*'to go to church, be in church'*

[1]Another factor which may have been involved in the development of this program is the convention, found in NGP around 1920, that the preposition long could be left out after verbs of movement. In this case, a shorter form of the sentence mi go long bung *'I went to the market'* would be mi go bung, where bung could be interpreted as either nominal or verbal.

[2]Tolai examples were culled from a number of sources, in particular Bley (1912) and Franklin (n.d.). There are some discrepancies in the spelling used as well as regional differences in the pronunciation of Tolai. The spelling used in this book is that found in the sources consulted.

[3]A number of Tolai items used in this and the following set of examples are borrowed from other sources, in some cases possibly even NGP. However, this does not affect the argument that the lexical structures of Tolai may have served as a model for NGP. One has to distinguish between cases in which only structure is borrowed (as in iuiu = waswas = *'bathe'*), cases where both inventory and structure are borrowed (as in bung *'gather'* and *'gathering place'*) and yet others (as in varvardoan *'benediction'*) where only inventory is borrowed. A more detailed assessment of the role of Tolai in the formation of NGP has been prepared by Mosel (forthcoming).

Tolai	NGP	English
misa (N)	misa	*'mass'*
misa (V_{int})	misa	*'to go to mass, be at mass'*
po (N)	haus	*'a nest'*
po (V_{int})	haus	*'to nest'*

Similarly, Tolai tade *'Sunday'* and *'spend the Sunday'* parallels the use of Sande as a noun and derived intransitive verbal in NGP.

Case 3: MF Program 10 - Derivation of intransitive verbals from nouns

Noun bases referring principally to certain parts of the body or diseases can become verbals, with the most commonly used in NGP also found in Tolai, compare:

Tolai	NGP	English
qap (N)	blut	*'blood'*
qap (V_{int})	blut	*'to bleed'*
urug (N)	buk	*'boil, swelling'*
urug (V_{int})	buk	*'to be swollen'*
tirpa (N)	grile	*'ringworm'*
tirpa (V_{int})	grile	*'to be infested with ringworm, be scaly'*
manua (N)	sua	*'sore, wound'*
manua (V_{int})	sua	*'to have sores'*

Case 4: A derivational constraint on MF Program 1

Transitive verbals can be derived freely from most nouns referring to instruments. Excepted are a small group of noun bases referring to instruments used in closing, locking, obstructing, etc. It was found that the same group of noun bases is also excluded from derivation by functional shift in Tolai. Both NGP and Tolai use a phrase involving a verb of the meaning *'to obstruct'* instead:

Tolai	NGP	English
ki (N)	ki	*'key'*
ki bat	pasim long ki	*'to lock'*
kilamu (N)	kilamo/kor	*'cork, stopper'*
kilamu bat	pasim long kilamo/kor	*'to cork'*
tubatuba	tuptup	*'lid'*
tubatuba bat	pasim long tuptup[1]	*'to put a lid on'*

[1] (see opposite page)

Case 5: The origin of verbal chaining

At this stage the question of the origin of CP Programs 17 to 20 discussed in Chapter 5, i.e. the various types of verbal chaining found in NGP, is not resolved and will remain so until a more comprehensive account of these lexical constructions than that contained in Bley (1912:108-12) is available for Tolai and other Melanesian languages.

Though various writers have stressed the importance of substratum influence in the development of verbal chaining in a number of pidgins and creoles (Hall 1966:77; Givón 1973:16; J. Voorhoeve 1975:2), others have pointed to its origin in general principles of language simplification (O.M. Smith 1972:54) and to its presence in English (Agheyisi 1971: 101). Whilst leaving open the extent to which other factors may be involved, the author wants to point out some cases of close correspondence of verbal chaining in Tolai and NGP.

The use of traiim *'to try'* after transitive and intransitive verbals, as in sindaun traiim *'to try to sit down'* or wokim traiim *'to try to make'* is paralleled in Tolai by a construction V + kilag. Thus NGP kaikai traiim *'to try to eat something'* corresponds to Tolai en kilag. Other instances are the use of two transitive verbals as in:

Tolai	NGP	English
vatur vake	holim pasim	*'to stop by holding, to arrest'*
kal vairop	digim autim	*'to dig something up'*
qire ilam	luksave	*'to recognise'*

ii) Influence from English

The influence of English in the development of new lexical programs is felt most strongly in the area of nominal compounding. In this area it has led not only to the establishment of new programs but also, as will be discussed below (4.4.3.2.8.), to a sizeable increase in word-level derived lexical items. English influence on NGP's derivational lexicon has become much more noticeable in the years after World War II. However, since this influence is manifested in the sociolect of Urban Pidgin rather than in the language as a whole, it will be dealt with together with other lexical features of that variety (cf. section 4.5.3.).

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1 (from p.260)
The form tuptupim *'to cover with a lid'* is listed in Smythe's dictionary (n.d.) of Manus Pidgin. The form was also found in use among speakers of creolised NGP from Malabang village. Otherwise, this form is rejected almost universally because it seems to violate not only semantic but also, less strongly, phonological conditions on derivation.

Case 6: The origin of CP Program 13

Word-level compounds of the type where the first noun refers to the locality in which what is referred to by the second noun is typically encountered, appear to have no counterparts in Tolai. The derivation of this program from English is further supported by the fact that all lexical items following this program up to the 1940s have direct counterparts in English, for instance:

NGP	Gloss
buskanaka	*'bushkanaka'*
poketnaip	*'pocketknife'*
hausboi	*'houseboy'*

iii) Influence from both English and Melanesian languages

In many instances in which English influence can be suspected it was found that similar or identical lexical programs were also in evidence in Tolai. Whilst lexical programs in English and Tolai are very often in agreement with regard to changes in categorial and semantic information accompanying for instance, functional shift, one finds significant differences in the ways in which various types of functional shift are signalled morphologically in these two languages. The morphological devices involved include reduplication, affixation, suffixation and shift of stress. However, the derivational morphology of the lexifier languages is lost once an item is integrated into NGP.

Case 7: MF Program 1

In both English and Tolai, verbals can be derived from noun bases referring to instruments.[1] The principal difference between English and Tolai is the presence of changes in morphological information with some derived items in the latter. NGP differs from both in that the derived verbals are almost exclusively transitive (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:24-6). The following short list illustrates how this type of derivation is manifested in the three languages.

[1] Wedgwood (1954:784) believes that "the most English characteristic of the language [i.e. NGP] is perhaps the facility with which nouns are used as verbs". Whilst the superficial similarity of the two languages in this respect cannot be denied, there are a number of significant differences in the system underlying the derivation of verbals from noun bases in the two languages. These have been pointed out by Mühlhäusler (1975a:45-7).

Tolai	NGP	English
barbar (N)	dril	*'drill'*
barbar (V_{int})	-	*'to drill'*
bar (V_{tr})	drilim	*'to drill something'*
bulit (N)	bulit, glu	*'glue'*
bulit (V_{tr})	bulitim, gluim	*'to glue something'*
bair (N)	baira	*'hoe'*
bair (V_{tr})	bairaim	*'to hoe something'*
apupur (N)	pam	*'pump, sprayer'*
apupur (V_{int})	-	*'to pump'*
apur (V_{tr})	pamim	*'to pump something'*
kono (N)	huk	*'hook'*
kono (V_{tr})	hukim	*'to catch something with a hook, to hook'*

Whilst the restriction in NGP on the derivation of verbals from noun bases referring to instruments of obstruction was shown to be paralleled by an identical constraint in Tolai, the possible source of a second restriction barring the derivation of verbals from noun bases referring to weapons is not known. Whereas both Tolai and English can derive a verbal from the nouns qoqo and *spear* respectively, the expression *'to spear'* is usually rendered by the phrases givim spia long or sutim long spia in NGP.[1]

Case 8: MF Program 19

The derivation of abstract nominals from intransitive verb bases in NGP exhibits close correspondence with both English and Tolai. However, derivation by affixation or reduplication is not found in NGP. The following list illustrates some shared properties and some differences in the derivation of abstract nominals in NGP, English and Tolai.

[1]The form spiaim was found in a number of dictionaries. However, it is generally rejected by speakers of Rural Pidgin and acceptable to significant numbers of speakers only in Urban Pidgin and Tok Masta.

Tolai	NGP	English
a) derivation of abstract nominals from verb bases referring to psychic states:		
nurnur (V_{int})	nurnur, bilip	*'to believe'*
nurnur (N)	nurnur, bilip	*'belief'*
ququ (V_{int})	amamas	*'to be happy'*
ququ (N)	amamas	*'happiness'*
nukpuku (V_{int})	nukpuku	*'to repent, to regret'*
nukpuku (N)	nukpuku	*'repentance, regret'*
b) activities and states of the body:		
magamagon (V_{int})	swet	*'to sweat'*
magamagon (N)	swet	*'sweat'*
malaqene (V_{int})	danis, singsing	*'to dance'*
malaqene (N)	danis, singsing	*'dance'*
c) names for diseases:		
malapag (V_{int})	sik	*'to be sick'*
malapag (N)	sik	*'sickness'*
kaogo (V_{int})	kus	*'to cough, to sneeze'*
kaogo (N)	kus	*'cough, sneeze'*
d) derivation of abstract nominals from other intransitive verb bases:		
vaogo (V_{int})	lai, giaman	*'to lie'*
vavaogo (N)	lai, giaman	*'lie'*
palum (V_{int})	wok	*'to work'*
papalum (N)	wok	*'work'*
tun (V_{int})	kuk	*'to cook'*
tuntuan (N)	kuk	*'the cooking'*
arig (V_{int})	raring, prea	*'to pray'*
niarig (N)	raring, prea	*'prayer'*
diep (V_{int})	slip	*'to sleep'*
nidiep (N)	slip	*'sleep'*
libur (V_{int})	limlimbur	*'to stroll'*
nilibur (N)	limlimbur	*'stroll'*
bura (V_{int})	pundaun	*'to fall'*
bunura (N)	pundaun	*'fall'*

It is hoped that contrastive studies of the derivational lexicon of English, Melanesian languages and NGP will be undertaken to provide a reliable foundation for the study of the impact of external influences on the development of NGP. However, the few cases discussed here already provide evidence against the claim that pidgins are made up of the grammar of one language and the lexicon of another. Instead, one finds influence from a number of sources at all levels.

4.4.3.2.4. *The Development of Lexical Programs from Internal Resources*

Since the structures of pidgin languages develop out of the encounter of two or more linguistic systems it cannot be expected that their entire structural resources can be traced back to the influence of one or another of these languages in contact. Instead, pidgins cease to be 'parasitic' systems after their stabilisation and, whilst influence from external sources may continue to manifest itself in some more restricted areas of grammar or in the borrowing of lexical bases, stable and expanded pidgins are very much linguistic systems in their own right.[1]

This section will examine how a number of lexical programs may have developed out of the syntactic structures of NGP. Two principal developments are that of programs of multifunctionality out of the neutralisation of categorial information in certain syntactic surface structures, and the development of a number of programs of compounding out of syntactic phrases.[2]

One cannot always separate external from internal factors in the development of NGP's derivational lexicon. However, as in the case of multiple etymologies (cf. subsection 4.3.2.3.), one can argue that the origin of some lexical programs can be ascribed to the joint operation of a number of influences.

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[1] It must also be remembered that pidgins are second languages and that recent studies in adult second-language learning, in particular studies of interlanguage, have demonstrated that influence from the learner's language ('substratum influence') is considerably less than expected by contrastive grammarians.

[2] Both developments are documented for numerous other languages (cf. Paul 1970:324ff. and 354ff. for compounding and multifunctionality respectively) and their presence in expanded NGP reflects natural language change during this stage.

Case 9: Systematic neutralisation[1] of categorial information and the origin of MF Program 19

Whilst it has been shown above that the derivation by functional shift of abstract nominals from verb bases is found in both Tolai and English, its occurrence in NGP may also be ascribed to the neutralisation of categorial information in a number of syntactic structures (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975a:37-40). Thus, both nominals and intransitive verbals can appear in the frame em i man bilong N/V_{int} *'he is a man of ...'* as in:

em i man bilong	trabel	*'trouble, making trouble'*
'he is a man of ...'	les	*'laziness, being lazy'*
	stil	*'stealth, stealing'*
	giaman	*'deceit, deceiving'*
	pait	*'fight, fighting'*

The items trabel, les, etc. in this frame can thus be interpreted as either abstract nominals or intransitive verbals. This may be one of the reasons for the ease with which abstract nominals borrowed from outside sources become intransitive verbals and eventually become re-interpreted as verb bases in NGP. Thus pekato *'sin'*, bulsit *'gross deceit'* or trabel *'trouble, promiscuity'*, which were noun bases in the lexifier language, function as verb bases in NGP's derivational lexicon.[2]

Case 10: Systematic neutralisation of categorial information and the origin of MF Program 2

The same syntactic frame which may have given rise to the development of MF Program 19 may also have been involved in that of MF Program 2, the derivation of intransitive verbals from noun bases referring to certain types of people. Compare:

em i man bilong	birua	*'enemy, fighting'*
'he is a man of ...'	kamda	*'carpenter, doing carpentry'*
	bos	*'boss, supervising'*

MF Program 2 may have been reinforced by yet another instance of neutralisation between nominals and intransitive verbals, namely that

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[1] Most commonly, the neutralisation of categorial information has been regarded as a result of the loss of inflectional and derivational morphology. Thus Todd (1974a:6) writes: "Related to the rarity or non-occurrence of inflectional endings one finds that words are multifunctional." However, it appears that morphological considerations are of relatively little importance in determining the system underlying the various surface manifestations of functional shift (cf. also Sapir 1966:52-4).

[2] The reasons for regarding for instance, trabel, as an intransitive verb base include its occurrence in the compounds trabelpasin *'promiscuity'* and trabelman *'troublemaker, promiscuous person'* and the fact that a transitive verb trabolim *'molest'* can be derived.

which is found in predicates. Equative constructions of the type N i N are not different in their surface properties from constructions of the type N i V_{int},[1] not only because nominals and verbals are not inflectionally marked but also because a number of conditions on grammatical categories are the same whatever appears in the predicate. Thus aspect markers of the kind i stap 'continuation', pinis 'completion' and laik 'inchoative' can be used with noun bases appearing in the predicate. On the other hand the plural marker ol cannot appear in the predicate, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of constructions such as *ol i ol meri *'they are women'* (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975b:27). Neutralisation in the predicate is illustrated in the following examples:

NGP	Gloss
em i laik bos	*'he wants to become boss/be in charge'*
husat bai pris?	*'who will be the priest/preach?'*
ol i pasindia long Lae	*'they are freeloaders/freeload in Lae'*

The neutralisation of verbal and nominal lexical items was favoured by yet another factor of NGP's syntax, namely that the distinction between long and bilong, the two general prepositions, was not maintained by most speakers, a fact noted by Thurnwald (1913:96) and observed by the author in numerous instances in present-day NGP. Thus, the distinction between mi papa bilong haus *'I am the owner of the house'* and mi papa long haus *'I own the house'* is not significant for many speakers. The generalisations usually made about the distinction between long and bilong will certainly have to be re-examined.

Case 11: The origin of CP Program 2

Nominal compounds of the type (adj + N) closely resemble syntactic phrases,[2] and there appears to be little doubt that the lexical phrases and compounds found in NGP developed directly from syntactic structures. In a few cases, compounds borrowed from English may have reinforced this program. The fact that traces of it are already found in SPP may have promoted the formation of word level compounds, since signalling of

[1] This is also found in a number of other pidgins and creoles. LePage (1974:63) has shown that, for a number of English Creoles spoken in the West Indies: "It seems that we have a broad Creole grammar which does not formally distinguish between verb predicates, contrasting with standard English grammar that does."

[2] Brekle (1966:5-29) has discussed the problems involved in separating syntactic from lexical structures of the type (adj + N).

attributive adjectives by means of -pela was not common in SPP.[1] The examples found in SPP as recorded by the author, include:

SPP	Gloss
blakboi	*'black indentured labourer'*
nuboi	*'freshly indentured labourer'*
olboi	*'labourer having served a three year term'*
waitman	*'European'*

For NGP the following examples were found in sources published before 1920:

NGP	Gloss
smolpela dokta	*'medical orderly'*
smolpela mun	*'new moon'*
blakpela boi	*'black labourer'*
waitpela kapul	*'European'*

In both cases, the meaning of the lexical phrase or compound is clearly distinct from that of syntactic phrases containing the same lexical bases.

Case 12: The origin of CP Programs 6 and 15

Both nominal compounds, such as baiimboi *'labour recruiter'*, and intransitive verbal compounds, such as sutas *'to give an injection'*, originated in verb phrases involving a transitive verb plus a nominal object. Whilst lexical phrases of the kind putim mak *'to put a mark = to sign'* or kolim buk *'to call the book = to spell'* are found in large numbers in NGP's stabilisation period, word level verbal compounds, such as kikbal *'to play soccer'*, make their appearance only from the mid-1920s onwards. The fact that the Tolai compound lukbuk *'to count book = to read'* was borrowed may have provided an additional stimulus for the development of word-level compounding, since it was reinterpreted in NGP as being derived from lukim buk *'to look at a book'*,[2] as is confirmed by the existence of the variant lukluk buk (cf. Hall 1943b:108).

The emergence of nominal compounds from syntactic verb phrases may furthermore be related to the neutralisation of categorial information

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[1] Monosyllabic adjectives without -pela in prenominal position are also documented in some very early texts of NGP and are still found occasionally with very old speakers. More recently, in Urban Pidgin, this has again become a common phenomenon. It is certainly not the case, as has been suggested by Salisbury (1967:45), that the use of -pela to signal an adjective was a stable feature of NGP by 1881.

[2] The phrase kaunim buk *'count a book = to read'*, used at the same time as lukbuk in NGP, appears to be a calque of the Tolai compound.

in the predicate. Thus complex verbal predicates such as tanim tok *'to translate the language'* or pinis taim *'to finish time'* seem to have been interpreted as the compound nominals tanimtok *'translator'* and pinistaim *'someone who has finished his contract time'*.

The examples discussed so far illustrate the development of some derivational programs from the syntactic structures of NGP. In addition, it appears that the phonological structure of this language was also instrumental in reinforcing or giving rise to a number of such programs.

The reinterpretation of English phonology in NGP has not only led to the loss of many lexical contrasts but also to a number of lexical conflations. A special case are those which involve items which not only differ with regard to phonological and semantic information but also in categorial status. Whilst the categorial differences are retained after borrowing, the close semantic and phonological similarity may result in the interpretation of two lexical items as being derivationally related. The following cases were observed by the author:

i) tan *'done'* as in kaikai i tan *'the food is done'* is interpreted as being related to tanim, originally *'to turn'*, so that tanim kaikai is now interpreted by many speakers of NGP as *'to turn or stir the food thereby causing it to be done'*; this example has already been reported by Brenninkmeyer (1924:23).

ii) sakim *'to shake'* is often interpreted as being related to sak *'sack'* since in the context of filling copra into bags, shaking is one of the main activities. Thus sakim kabora (kopra) *'to fill copra into sacks by shaking them'*.

iii) belo *'bell'* is considered by some speakers to be the base from which the verb beloim *'to blow'* as in beloim hon *'to blow the horn'* is derived.

iv) English *'judge'* and *'charge'* have fallen together in NGP and the verbs sas *'to judge'* and sasim *'to judge or charge someone'* are regarded as being derived from the noun sas *'judge'*.

v) Some speakers are reported to regard the noun pisop *'bishop'* as being derived from the verb pisop *'to piss off'* because of the habit of some ecclesiastical dignitaries to only pay brief visits to outlying areas.

vi) English *'preach'* and *'priest'* have both become pris in NGP and are thought of as being an instance of an intransitive verbal being derived from a noun base following MF Program 2.

vii) NGP plet appears to be derived from English *'plate'* and *'flat'*, the intransitive verbal plet *'flat'* is often interpreted as *'being like a plate'*, i.e. as being derived from the noun plet via MF Program 12.

Though these cases must be regarded as marginal to the development of NGP's derivational lexicon, they demonstrate the importance of testing the speaker's intuitions about derivational relatedness against etymological knowledge.

Case 13: The origin of MF Program 23

Of greater importance than the examples just listed is lexical conflation arising out of the identification of the English ending *-ing* with NGP -im. This phenomenon can be most readily observed in written NGP, as illustrated by the following sentences from unedited letters to *Wantok* newspaper:

NGP	Gloss
mi no man bilong SPIKING English	*'I do not speak English'*
ol meri i ken DRAIVING kar	*'the women can drive a car'*
dispela toktok i HELIBING yu	*'this talk supports you'*
mi laik ASKIM yu long wanpela SAMTIM	*'I want to ask you for something'*

An examination of early dictionaries and vocabularies suggests that MF Program 23 developed out of the introduction of a number of abstract nominals ending in -ing and related transitive verbs in the early 1920s.[1] The first such pairs were:

Transitive Verbs		Abstract Nominals	
blesim	*'to bless'*	blesim	*'blessing'*
pilim	*'to feel'*	pilim	*'feeling'*
biginim	*'to begin'*	biginim	*'beginning'*

Since then a large number of other cases similar to these have come into NGP, including:

Transitive Verbs		Abstract Nominals	
mitim	*'to meet'*	mitim	*'meeting'*
minim	*'to mean'*	minim	*'meaning'*
droim	*'to draw'*	droim	*'drawing'*
trenim	*'to train'*	trenim	*'training'*
krosim	*'to cross'*	krosim	*'pedestrian crossing'*

That this program has acquired independence from its hypothetical source can be seen from the fact that a number of abstract nominals are found in NGP which do not have English cognates ending in -ing, including:

[1] Brenninkmeyer (1924:6) remarks that there is some confusion between forms such as pilim and piling *'feeling'* in NGP.

Transitive Verbs		Abstract Nominals	
askim	*'to ask'*	askim	*'question'*
bekim	*'to answer'*	bekim	*'answer'*
helpim	*'to help'*	helpim	*'help'*
traim	*'to try'*	traim	*'temptation'*

4.4.3.2.5. *Simplification of Grammar and the Origin of NGP's Derivational Lexicon*

Simplification of NGP's derivational lexicon can be regarded from two complementary points of view. Firstly, simplification implies that lexical structures borrowed from outside sources have become more regular in NGP; secondly, it could be suggested that language-independent tendencies towards greater simplification in the lexicon operated during NGP's lexical expansion. The question of the role of simplification in the derivational lexicon of pidgin languages has been discussed in detail by Mühlhäusler (1974:97-110).

The main source of the first kind of simplification is the loss of derivational morphology found in the lexifier languages. This means, for instance, that the derivation of abstract nominals from intransitive verb bases in NGP is done by means of functional shift involving no changes in morphological information, whilst both Tolai and English use a number of morphological devices for the same purpose. Compare:

Tolai		English		NGP	
diep	- nidiep	*'to sleep'*	- *'sleep'*	slip	- slip
burut	- bunurut	*'be afraid'*	- *'fear'*	pret	- pret
nurnur	- nurnur	*'to believe'*	- *'belief'*	bilip	- bilip
laun	- nilaun	*'to live'*	- *'life'*	laip	- laip
nuk	- nuknuk	*'to think'*	- *'thought'*	tingting	- tingting

Whilst the borrowed item is not necessarily the morphologically most simple form in the lexifier language, the general principle is that only one form is borrowed. Compare:

NGP	Lexifier language	
prea - prea	*'to pray'*	- *'prayer'*
hat - hat	*'to be hot'*	- *'heat'*
pret - pret	*'to be afraid'*	- *'fear'*
siki - siki	*'to be cheeky'*	- *'cheek(iness)'*

A second type of simplification found in the lexicon of expanded NGP is the fact, which has also been noted for other pidgins (cf. Mühlhäusler 1974:98), that certain aspects of lexical semantics are generally overtly signalled. Examples are:

Semantic Information	Signalled by	Example	
antonym	no	nostrong	*'feeble'*
male	man	hos man	*'stallion'*
female	meri	hos meri	*'mare'*
male indigene [in European employment]	boi	doktaboi	*'medical orderly'*
human being	man	saveman	*'wise person'*
sheltered locality	haus	haus slip	*'bedroom'*
locality	ples	ples tais	*'swamp'*
disease	sik	sik malaria	*'malaria'*

More remarks and examples illustrating this aspect of NGP's derivational lexicon can be found in section 6.4.4.

However, though NGP has a simple lexicon it can not be expected, as would be the case with a planned language, to be maximally simple. In fact, the complex array of factors operative in the formation of a component for the generation of lexical items has led to the emergence of competing programs.[1] A case in instance is that of abstract nominals which can be related to two lexical programs:

i) MF Programs 14 and 19, i.e. derivation by functional shift from adjective and verb bases, e.g. longpela *'long'* and *'size'*; strongpela *'strong'*, strong *'strength'*; askim *'to ask'* and *'question'*; bekim *'to answer'* and *'the answer'*; sindaun *'to sit down, behave'* and *'behaviour'*; amamas *'to rejoice'* and *'gladness'*, and many other instances to be discussed in Chapter 5.

ii) CP Program 11, i.e. compounding intransitive verb bases with the noun base, pasin *'manner'* as in spakpasin *'drunkenness'*, stilpasin *'thiefishness'* and pamukpasin *'whoredom'*.

The choice between these programs is a stylistic matter in some instances, as with klin or klinpasin *'cleanliness'*, or determined by phonological restrictions in other instances, as in amamas (but not *amamaspasin) *'joy'* and a matter of lexical listing in the remaining cases.

NGP's derivational lexicon is further complicated by the fact that derived lexical items are often found to be of various size levels, with the choice between phrase and word level derived items often not predictable by general rule.[2]

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[1] A further discussion on 'competing programs' can be found in Gauger (1971:85ff.) and Mühlhäusler (1975a:42).

[2] However, the tendency for lexical derivation to increasingly take place at word level may eventually result in a significant simplification of NGP's derivational lexicon.

The author feels that the aspect of simplification in the lexicon should not be over-stressed and that, moreover, statements about lexical simplification resulting from universal grammar, or being itself a universal in the development of pidgin languages, are hardly warranted at this stage.

4.4.3.2.6. *Numerical Increase of Lexical Programs*

In contrast with linguistic expansion arising out of creolisation, the type of linguistic expansion which can be observed in second-language NGP is much less sudden. Though the increase in the number of lexical programs from perhaps a handful in the 1910s to about fifty in present-day NGP is probably considerably faster than that found in many languages with native speakers, this development is continuous and characterised by additions to existing structures rather than their drastic restructuring, loss and replacement.

The development of numerous new lexical programs may be regarded as the result of pressure for more effective communication in an ever widening range of situational contexts in which new lexical items were required. These can be made available by a number of processes, and the choice between borrowing, syntactic circumlocution and the three main types of lexical derivation is not necessarily determined by linguistic factors. The fact that the same job could be equally well performed by different lexical programs led to competition among the solutions which emerged during NGP's expansion and, in some cases, to the disappearance of lexical programs. Before discussing the development of lexical programs found in present-day NGP, some brief remarks will be made about the number of unsuccessful[1] solutions to the task of lexical expansion.

Case 1: Lexical phrases of the type mekim + N *'to do + N'*

It appears that the primary function of mekim was to overcome the shortage of verbs found in early NGP, i.e. it served as a mechanism for the derivation of verbals from noun bases. Pidgin dictionaries and vocabularies up to the mid-1920s abound in lexical phrases such as:

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[1] The author feels that it is essential, for an adequate characterisation of the diachronic development of pidgins, to pay more attention to unsuccessful innovations. On a more general level this has also been advocated by Malkiel (1966:324):

> Let me remark that just as linguists, for perfectly understandable yet, on balance, indefensible reasons, tend to favour processes of divergence over those of convergence, so they have traditionally centered about successful rather than about stunted mutations.

NGP	Gloss
mekim hos	*'to saddle'*
mekim krismas	*'to celebrate'*
mekim pekpek	*'to defecate'*
mekim pepa	*'to write, sign a labour contract'*
mekim man	*'to marry a man'*
mekim siga	*'to smoke'*
mekim bilas	*'to decorate'*
mekim glas	*'to send a message by mirror'*
mekim kaviv	*'to play a flute'*
mekim triyia	*'to get indentured'*

Mekim fulfilled this function not only in connection with concrete noun bases but also with a number of abstract noun bases[1] introduced by various mission bodies in the 1920s, as in:

NGP	Gloss
mekim pekato	*'to sin'*
mekim prosesio	*'to walk in a procession'*
mekim konpesio	*'to confess'*

The fact that this type of lexical phrase expressed a number of different relationships between mekim and the noun base which followed (e.g. mekim hos *'to do something to the horse'*, mekim glas *'to do something with a mirror'*, or mekim triyia *'to do a three year period'*) may have been one of the reasons for its disappearance.

The subsequent development of this lexical program is fairly complex. Two of the lexical phrases, mekim pepa and mekim nois, formed the compound intransitive verbals mekpepa *'to sign the labour contract'* and meknois *'to make a noise or movement'* (CP Program 14). Mekim pepa in the meaning *'to write'* and mekim siga *'to smoke'* have been replaced by rait and smok respectively. Mekim bilas and mekim glas have been replaced by bilasim and glasim, i.e. the derivation of verbals from these noun bases now follows MF Programs 11 and 6. No concrete nominals may appear after mekim in present-day NGP and abstract nominals such as konpesio are now regarded as derivations from intransitive verb bases.

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[1] The use of a construction corresponding to mekim + N is also reported for other pidgins. Silverstein (1972:614-15) attests a similar construction for Chinook Jargon and Agheyisi (1971:51) writes, for West African Pidgin English, that constructions of the type

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{du}\\ \text{get}\\ \text{mek}\end{matrix}\right\} + \text{Nominal}$$

are "a fairly common device in the pidgin for taking care of lexical gaps resulting from the above kind of incomplete borrowing--i.e. borrowing derivatives without their derivational roots."

A second program which disappeared after 1930 is the already mentioned one involving a reduplicated intransitive and an unreduplicated transitive verbal (cf. 4.4.3.2.3.).

Compounds of the type ol + V_{int}, such as olstrong *'almighty'* and olsave *'omniscient'*, are an example of unsuccessful language planning, and appear not to have gained currency outside the Rabaul area where they were introduced.

A last example of a lexical program which did not survive is that of phrases of the type man + N_{loc}, such as man Inglan *'Englishman'*, man bus *'bush dweller'*, man Manus *'Manus Islander'*. Present-day NGP derives nominals referring to inhabitants of certain localities from noun bases referring to such localities by means of a program involving the change of subcategorial status (cf. subsection 4.3.3.4.). Hence Inglan *'England'* or *'an Englishman'*; Siapan *'Japan'* or *'a Japanese'*, bikbus *'the deep jungle'* or *'someone living in the deep jungle'*.[1]

The small number of unsuccessful innovations appears relatively unimportant in comparison with the large number of successful ones. The continued increase in the number of lexical programs can be illustrated with the development of nominal compounding. NGP data recorded before 1920, together with evidence from SPP collected by the author, suggest that only three such programs of nominal compounding were found at the time, namely:

i) CP Program 2, as in:

NGP or SPP	Gloss
smolpapa	*'paternal uncle'*
blakboi	*'black plantation labourer'*
waitman	*'European'*

ii) CP Program 12

Here, the only examples on record are those involving the noun base haus *'sheltered locality, house'*:

NGP or SPP	Gloss
haus pepa	*'office'*
haus mani	*'bank'*
haus drai	*'store room for dry coconuts'*

iii) CP Program 5

Again, the examples on record are restricted to lexical phrases involving the noun bases man *'male'* and meri *'female'*, as in pik man

[1] The *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.) lists both ol ailan and ol bilong ailan; the latter construction is no longer current.

'boar' against pik meri *'sow'*, and other cases mentioned in subsection 4.3.3.4. The list of lexical items provided by Brenninkmeyer (1924) suggests that a number of new programs for nominal compounding began to emerge in the early 1920s, including:

iv) CP Program 4

The only examples on record are sutman *'constable'* and sutboi *'indigenous hunter'*.

v) CP Program 13

Examples are buskanaka *'bushkanaka'* and saitlam *'side-lights on a ship'*.

vi) CP Program 10

Examples on record are kagobot *'cargo boat'* and pislain *'fishing line'*.

vii) CP Program 3

The examples on record indicate productive formation of new compounds instead of borrowing:

NGP	Gloss
longpela nek	*'bird with long neck = heron'*
triwil	*'tricycle'*
bikbel[1]	*'buffalo'*

viii) CP Program 2

Compound nominals referring to objects made out of a certain material were found in Brenninkmeyer's vocabulary (1924) and SPP, including:

NGP + SPP	Gloss
bokis ain	*'metal patrol box'*
paip graun	*'clay pipe'*
haus simen	*'concrete building'*

The appearance of a number of new programs can be observed in the mid-1920s and early 1930s (sources: Borchardt 1926 and 1930), including:

ix) CP Program 9

This program is represented by bak trausis *'trouser pocket'*.

x) CP Program 6

For this the examples opboto! *'bottle opener'* and optin *'tin opener'* are documented.

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[1]This item may have arison out of the reinterpretation of bifel or bipel, a noun base derived from German *Büffel 'buffalo'*.

xi) CP Program 11

The two examples listed by Borchardt are lam wokabaut *'hurricane lantern'* and haus katim *'surgery'*.

A further increase in the number of lexical programs appears to have occurred in the mid- and late 1930s (sources: *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.), van Baar (n.d.) and Kutscher (n.d.)), some instances being:

xii) CP Program 1

The compounds papamama *'parents'* and manmeri *'people'* are listed for the first time in these dictionaries. They are recorded for both mainland and islands NGP.

xiii) CP Program 3

A subtype of this program of nominal compounding involving the item wan meaning *'someone who shares something'* is now in evidence, some examples being:

NGP	Gloss
wankaikai	*'mess mate'*
wansmok	*'someone who shares a smoke'*
wanmak	*'someone of the same size'*
wanlain	*'someone working in the same labour line'*

Evidence for the two remaining programs featuring nominal compounding is found in the 1940s, naip meru *'paring knife'* (Program 14) being reported by Hall (1943b) and nilpis *'scorpion fish'* by Schebesta and Meiser (1945).

Though the development of programs for the formation of nominal compounds can be regarded as representative of the gradual growth of NGP's derivational lexicon throughout its expansion stage, the author wants to briefly mention the emergence of programs of reduplication, since it has been claimed in various places that lexical reduplication is a salient or even universal feature of pidgin languages. Thus Thompson (1961:111) states that "the part that it [i.e. reduplication] plays in the formation of pidgins could, alone explain its vigorous presence in the Creoles". However, evidence from SPP and NGP suggests that the majority of reduplicated lexical items found before 1930 were fully lexicalised and not related to any program of lexical derivation. This means that most programs of reduplication found in present-day NGP are fairly recent innovations. A brief survey of dictionaries and vocabularies suggests that:

i) the only programs found before 1930 were RD Program 2 (reduplication of numerals to indicate distribution) and RD Programs 5 and 8, signalling duration with intransitive and transitive verbals respectively. Programs 5 and 8 are also documented for SPP (cf. Mühlhäusler 1976).

ii) RD Programs 3 and 4 signalling intensity in adverb and intransitive verb bases respectively are documented for the first time in the mid-1930s.

iii) Reduplication was at best marginal in the 1940s. Hall (1943a:194) states that "reduplication is not of grammatical significance in Pidgin" and this observation is supported by his data (cf. Hall 1943b).

The author has found that the various programs of reduplication listed in the descriptive chapter, other than those signalling duration with verbals, are used mainly by younger speakers of NGP who acquired this language at an early age. Though some of the programs of reduplication now in use in NGP are also found in other pidgins and creoles, it is certain that one is dealing with an independent development. Their origin may be related to the presence of similar programs in the first languages of many NGP speakers or else they may have developed during the creolisation of NGP in various localities. The role of reduplication in human languages appears to be restricted to a limited set of functions (cf. Key 1965:88-102) and children who learnt NGP as their first language may have taken new programs of reduplication from universal grammar.

4.4.3.2.7. *Increase in Lexical Productivity*

The notion of productivity of lexical programs has been a matter of debate for a considerable time (a summary is given by Botha (1968:128-51)). Much of this debate appears to result from an approach to linguistics which insists on the strict separation of diachronic and synchronic analysis. Once this separation is dispensed with, many of the issues become much clearer (see Mayerthaler 1978).

The principal problem connected with the notion of 'productivity' in purely synchronic studies is that of the discrepancy between the restricted number of observed derived lexical items and the potentially very large number which could be accounted for by lexical programs. Among the solutions proposed[1] to this problem are:

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[1] Synoptic accounts of views about lexical productivity have been given by Pennanen (1972:292-308) and Adams (1973:197-215).

i) The actual occurrence of lexical items is a performance phenomenon and has little to do with the reality of lexical programs.

ii) Restrictions on lexical productivity may be linguistic in nature and may be discovered with further progress in the techniques of linguistic description.

iii) Derived lexical items differ from syntactic constructions in that their acceptability depends on their being conventionalised as names for certain concepts.

In section 2.6.2. the author has proposed reasons for accepting the third view, whilst acknowledging the necessity of discovering linguistic restrictions on derivational productivity, such as the various redundancy conditions operative in NGP. Interesting remarks on linguistic restrictions on derivational productivity can be found in an unfortunately relatively unknown article by Combrink (1973:58-91).

The aim here however, is to show the dynamics of lexical productivity, i.e. to demonstrate that existing lexical programs have been used again and again to increase the stock of derived lexical items in NGP. The lexicon of expanded NGP has to be characterised diachronically not only by the continued addition of new lexical programs but also by the continued increase in the number of lexical items which relate to individual programs. The case studies presented here are meant to illustrate this point.

Case 1: CP Program 2

The emergence of this program can be traced back to NGP's stabilisation phase, though the number of nominal compounds related to it is very small at this stage, the only word-level items on record being:

NGP	Gloss
blakboi	*'black labourer'*
nuboi	*'freshly indentured labourer'*
olboi	*'labourer having served a three year term'*
waitman	*'European'*

By the mid-1920s a number of new examples are found (source: Borchardt 1926), additional items being:

NGP	Gloss
biknem	*'fame'*
biknait	*'midnight'*
bikples	*'mainland'*
biktaun	*'city, Rabaul'*
haiwara	*'flood, tide'*

NGP	Gloss
hatwok	*'hard work, toil'*
kolwin	*'bush wind, cool off-shore wind'*
welpato	*'wild duck'*

Also reported for the mid-1920s are the names of the days of the week: wande *'Monday'*, tude *'Tuesday'*, tride *'Wednesday'*, pode *'Thursday'* and paipde *'Friday'*.

The growth in productivity of this program can be seen from additional derived items recorded by Hall (1943b):

NGP	Gloss
bikbus	*'deep jungle, unpopulated area'*
bikbrata	*'elder brother'*
biklain	*'work-line, work-group'*
bikmasta	*'master-in-chief'*
biknem	*'generic name'*
biksolwara	*'open sea'*
gutnem	*'reputation'*
hapmak	*'sixpence (half mark)'*
natwara	*'soup'*
smolnem	*'specific name'*
smolpapa	*'uncle, godfather'*
smoldokta	*'medical assistant'*
smolbis	*'small pearls, beads'*
weldok	*'wild dog'*
weltaro	*'wild taro'*
waitmisis	*'European woman'*

A Number of previously unreported examples are given by Mihalic (1957). These include:

NGP	Gloss
bikrot	*'mainland'*
bikwin	*'hurricane'*
bikpaia	*'hell'*
bikmoning	*'early morning'*
blakbot	*'blackboard'*
gutwok	*'good performance'*
raunwara	*'lake'*
switpatete	*'sweet potato'*

Finally, the examples recorded by the present author suggest that this program is still being used to provide new names, some apparently recent innovations being:

NGP	Gloss
draiabus	*'smoked meat'*
daunwara	*'deep place in a river'*
longsia	*'easy chair'*
retsos	*'tomato ketchup'*
raunbin	*'pea'*
rabiswik	*'week other than payweek'*

Case 2: CP Program 13

The development of this program with regard to its productivity is similar to the previous one. Brenninkmeyer (1924) reports only two instances, namely:

NGP	Gloss
buskanaka	*'bushkanaka'*
saitlam	*'side light on a ship'*

Both items appear to have been borrowed from English and the impression gained from an inspection of vocabularies and dictionaries before 1945 is that this program was not used for producing new lexical items. A possible exception is skulmeri *'schoolgirl'* recorded around 1935. Signs that analogical formation of new lexical items on the basis of the few models found in NGP became more common were only found in materials recorded after 1945, as in those of Mihalic (1957), who lists the following:

NGP	Gloss
mausgras	*'moustache'*
hetman	*'headman, leader'*
banismeri	*'boarding school girl'*

Additional items are recorded, for the first time, by Mihalic (1971), including:

NGP	Gloss
mauswara	*'saliva'*
hanwas	*'wristwatch'*

The data collected by the author suggest that a number of new compounds related to this program have become accepted as part of NGP's standard vocabulary in recent years, particularly items referring to bodily secretions and types of hair growing on the human body, including:

NGP	Gloss
skinwara	*'sweat'*
nuswara	*'mucus, snot'*
aiwara	*'tears'*

NGP	Gloss
usketgras	*'beard'*
kangras	*'pubic hair (of females)'*
nusgras	*'hair growing in the nose'*

Case 3: MF Program 21

The derivation of causative verbals from intransitive verb bases is documented in one instance before 1920, i.e. rausim *'to chuck out'*. Borchardt (1926) lists the following examples:

NGP	Gloss
hariapim	*'to speed someone up'*
bekim	*'to return something'*
boilim	*'to make something boil'*
laitim	*'to light something'*

Additional examples found in the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.) are:

NGP	Gloss
slipim	*'to make someone/something lie down'*
stretim	*'to correct, make straight'*
kirapim	*'to arouse, begin something'*
olraitim	*'to make all right'*
pinisim	*'to finish something'*

A further increase in lexical items produced by this program can be found in Mihalic (1957) who lists:

NGP	Gloss
kamapim	*'to cause someone/something to appear'*
solapim	*'to make someone/something swell'*
hariapim	*'to make someone hurry'*

The main innovations recorded by the author include examples where the verb base refers to a movement as in:

NGP	Gloss
noisim	*'to cause to shake, move'*
sanapim	*'to make someone/something stand up, erect'*
pundaunim	*'to cause to fall down'*
wokabautim	*'to walk (a horse), make walk'*

In addition there are signs that this program is now being applied by some speakers to certain transitive verb bases, as can be seen from the example dokta i dringim sikman *'the doctor makes the patient drink medicine'*. For a more detailed discussion see Edmonson and Mühlhäusler (forthcoming).

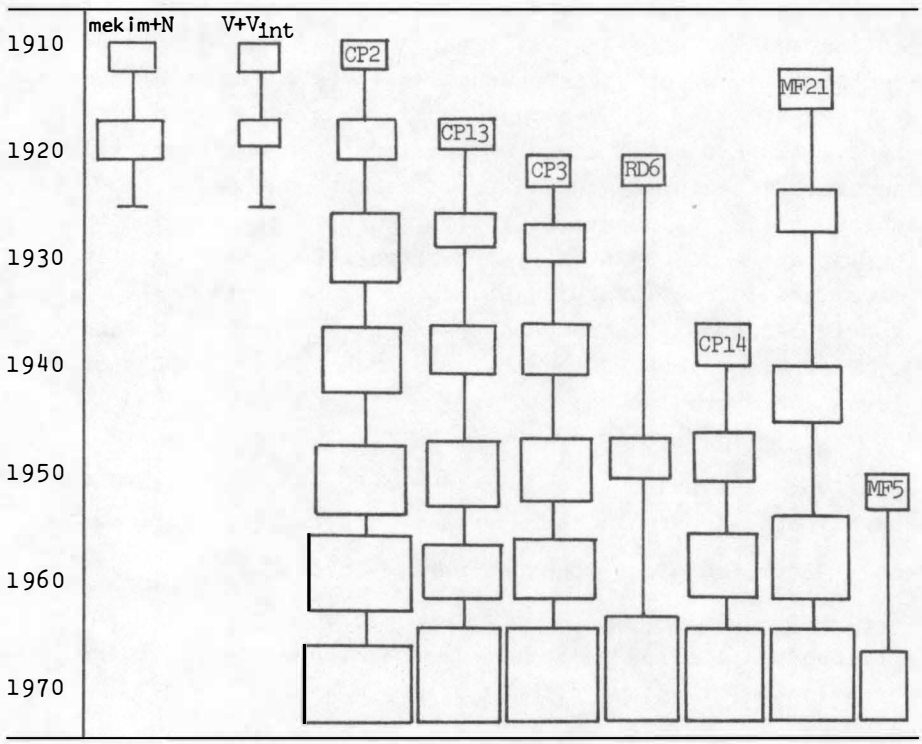
Case 4: RD Program 6

Word-level reduplication of transitive verbals has been recorded as early as 1926 (tantanim *'to turn around rapidly'*) but increase in productivity of this program was particularly slow. By 1957 only two additional examples had been documented, namely:

NGP	Gloss
luklukim	*'to watch intently'*
karkarim	*'to carry around all the time'*

Laycock (1970a:xxv,fn.1) remarks that he has heard, on rare occasions, reduplicated lexical items of this type, though he regarded these forms as being the result of substratum influence from the Buin language of South Bougainville rather than part of a more widely accepted derivational lexicon. The present author has found evidence that this program is now widely used. A list of additional examples will be given in Chapter 5.

The trends observed in the previous two sections can be summarised in the following scheme which illustrates both the numerical increase in the number of lexical programs and the increase in productivity (signalled by the increase in size of the rectangles) of selected lexical programs in NGP:



Similar trends can also be observed with other programs. The general picture which emerges is that both the potential for deriving new lexical items and the actual number of new items derived has been increasing steadily over the last fifty years.

4.4.3.2.8. *Differentiation of Lexical and Syntactic Structures*

The expansion of NGP's derivational lexicon is characterised by yet another trend, that of becoming increasingly more unlike syntactic structures of the language. This trend is manifested in i) the replacement of lexical items of higher size levels by corresponding word-level items, and ii) the appearance of lexical surface structures which can be related to syntactic paraphrases by complex deletion and rearrangement transformations only.

The tendency for higher level lexical items to develop into word-level items will be illustrated with two cases. These together with other cases examined by the author, suggest that the change in size level is gradual rather than sudden, applying to a few lexical items first with new items formed analogically being added.

Case 1: CP Program 15

This program, accounting for derived intransitive verbal compounds of the type aipas *'blind'* or nekdrai *'thirsty'*, has developed out of constructions such as ai bilong mi i pas *'my eyes are obstructed'*. Circumlocutions involving the noun bases bel *'belly, seat of emotions'*, iau *'ear'*, and ai *'eye'* are documented for NGP's stabilisation stage before 1920. At that time, these expressions were not completely idiomatised and were more in the character of circumlocutions as the three variants for *'blind'* ai i pas, ai i slip and ai i tudak demonstrate. Variation is less obvious in the years after 1920, though difficulties with some of the idioms involving bel *'seat of emotions, belly'* continue to be experienced, as has been demonstrated by McElhanon and Barok (1975: 189-97). In the earliest NGP vocabulary (Brenninkmeyer 1924) only two phrase-level items are listed:

NGP	Gloss
iau bilong mi i pas	*'my ear is obstructed, I am deaf'*
maus bilongen i pas	*'his mouth is obstructed, he is dumb'*

Borchardt (1926) lists four items at phrase-level:

NGP	Gloss
ai bilong man i slip	*'someone's eye sleeps = he is blind'*
maus bilong mi i pen	*'I have a sore mouth'*

NGP	Gloss
bel bilong mi i pen	*'I have a stomach ache'*
bel bilong mi i kros	*'I am angry'*

The first example of a word-level compound listed here is mi sotwin *'I am short of wind'*. Kutscher (n.d.) and the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.), representing NGP as spoken in the mid-1930s, continue to list phrase-level items, with the exception of sotwin and a new word-level form belhat which in the *Wörterbuch* is listed as a variant of bel i hat *'to be angry'*.

No new word-level items are reported by Hall (1943a,b) but Schebesta and Meiser (1945) give the additional items aipas *'blind'* and mauspas *'dumb'*.

The same examples are listed by Mihalic (1957), whilst for other descriptions of states of the body or mind he continues to provide phrase-level items such as:

NGP	Gloss
bel i hevi	*'to be sad'*
bel i gut	*'to be contented'*

A revision of this dictionary (Mihalic 1971) shows a marked increase in word-level compounds expressing a state of the mind, including:

NGP	Gloss
belisi	*'peaceful, calm'*
belklin	*'sincere'*
beltru	*'faithful'*
belnogut	*'sad, penitent'*
belhat	*'impatient, furious'*

Observations made by the author between 1972 and 1975 show that a number of new word-level items have been added since. Some recent innovations recorded by the author include:

NGP	Gloss
mi aislip nau	*'I am sleepy'* (Asaro EHD)
mi nekdrai pinis	*'I am really thirsty'* (EHD)
dispela man i hanbruk	*'this man is broken-handed'* (Goroka EHD)
mi no wetgras yet	*'I am not yet white-haired'* (Madang)
yu ainogut ya	*'you have got bad vision'* (Alexishafen)
em i skrulus	*'he is lame'* (Tuman ESD)
em i belkaskas	*'he is very angry'* (Tuman ESD)

The fact that such word-level compounds have become increasingly common during the course of NGP's structural expansion does not mean that

the related phrasal expressions have been replaced. Instead, both devices are now available to speakers of NGP, thus providing stylistic choice.

Case 2: CP Program 4

The author wants to consider only the development of those derived lexical items involving the noun base man *'man, person'*, i.e. a subset of examples. These can however be regarded as representative of the whole program. Lexical phrases of the form man bilong V_{int} expressing *'someone who usually does what is referred to by the verb'* are documented in fair numbers for the mid-1920s, including:

NGP	Gloss
man bilong singaut	*'noisy person, beggar'*
man bilong slip	*'sleepy, lazy person'*
man bilong stil	*'thief'*

The only word-level items at this point are sutman *'policeman'* and sutboi *'indigenous hunter'*.

For the mid-1930s the authors of the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* remark (p.53) that "-man as the suffix of verbs forms agent nouns" (author's translation). However, only a few word-level items are listed:

NGP	Gloss
wasman	*'watchman'*
sikman	*'patient'*
daiman	*'dead, dying man'*
stilman	*'thief'*

Phrase-level items listed in the *Wörterbuch* include:

NGP	Gloss
man bilong toktok	*'talkative person'*
man bilong save	*'wise, knowledgeable person'*
man bilong pait	*'warrior, fighter'*
man bilong pret	*'fearful person'*

No additional word-level items are documented until 1957. At this stage Mihalic lists the following additional examples:

NGP	Gloss
saveman	*'wise person'*
trabelman	*'troublesome person, fornicator'*
lesman	*'lazy person'*

Other forms are only documented as phrase-level items. Mihalic (1971) lists some new word-level items:

NGP	Gloss
holiman	*'a saint'*
sinman	*'a sinner'*
paniman	*'a joker'*

The author's observations confirm that the trend towards word-level derivations continues and that a number of items which were recorded as phrase-level items in Mihalic (1971) are now being supplemented by word-level items, examples being:

NGP	Gloss
paitman	*'fighter, warrier'*
pretman	*'easily frightened person'*
bilipman	*'believer'*

Downward shift in size level was also observed with a number of other lexical programs, for instance in the following cases:

Program	Form recorded before 1945	Form recorded in present-day NGP	Gloss
CP 11	lam wokabaut	wokabautlam	*'hurricane lantern'*
CP 13	manki bilong masta	mankimasta	*'servant (male)'*
MF 21	mekim hariap	hariapim	*'to speed up someone'*
CP 2	hatpela wara	hatwara	*'soup, hot water'*
CP 7	mani pepa	pepamani	*'paper money'*
CP 14	wara bilong skin	skinwara	*'sweat'*

The tendency of lexical derivation to take place at word-level is further demonstrated by the gradual appearance of compounds containing more than two morphemes, such as:

NGP	English
woksaveman	*'specialist'*
savemanmeri	*'educated people'*
mauspasman	*'dumb person'*
wantokples	*'someone speaking the same vernacular'*
susoksman	*'someone wearing shoes and socks, white collar worker'*
mauspaspasin	*'taciturnity'*

All the above examples were taken from unpublished and published letters written to *Wantok* newspaper between 1972 and 1975.

Whilst the development of word-formation in NGP provides sufficient evidence for the separation of syntactic and lexical structures in this language, mention should be made of a second type of development in NGP's derivational lexicon, namely the tendency for the relationship between derived lexical items and related syntactic paraphrases to become less

direct. This can be illustrated not so much with reference to the date for which lexical programs are first documented but rather with reference to the time at which such programs are used to provide new lexical items.

Thus, it is found that those nominal word-level compounds whose surface structures can be mapped into related paraphrases without recourse to rearrangement or deletion transformations are used to produce new lexical items at an early stage in NGP's lexical expansion. Examples are CP Program 2 (type **bikman** *'important person'*), CP Program 6 (type **opbotol** *'bottle opener'*) and CP Program 15 (type **piniswok** *'to finish one's work'*). On the other hand, increase in productivity can be observed only late in NGP's expansion stage, in cases such as CP Program 10 (type **grasnaip** *'knife for cutting grass'*) and CP Program 13 (type **hanwas** *'wristwatch'*). Similarly, the various programs of reduplication signalling distribution and plurality with noun and verb bases have emerged only very recently.

The description of present-day formation of lexical items in NGP in Chapter 5 will demonstrate that both the structural and semantic properties of lexical items in this language have moved a great distance from syntactic structures and the semantic interpretation given to such syntactic structures. Thus, the development of the derivational lexicon of NGP is to be regarded as one proceeding from certain syntactic conventions for describing new objects to an independent system for generating new names.

During a period of little more than fifty years the character of NGP has changed from a lexically impoverished and unproductive language into one in which a complex derivational lexicon can provide new derived lexical items which not only meet new demands on referential adequacy but also satisfy the additional criteria of brevity of expression and stylistic flexibility.

4.5. LEXICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NGP'S POST-PIDGIN STAGE

4.5.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The post-pidgin phase in the life cycle of a pidgin is the period of renewed intimate contact of a stable or expanded pidgin with its original principal lexifier language, in the case of NGP, renewed contact with English. However, access to English to a degree which would allow significant influence on the structure of NGP is still restricted to a subpart of the NGP speaking community, namely those who have had some formal education in English, and post-pidgin anglicised NGP is co-extensive with the sociolect of Urban Pidgin.

The development of more anglicised varieties of NGP began soon after World War I, as is confirmed by remarks such as that by Brenninkmeyer (1924:1): "From year to year this international lingua franca approaches closer to pure English" (author's translation). However, the influence of English on NGP's internal development was of no great significance until about twenty five years ago. Before World War II, the impact of English on NGP was restricted to a relatively small number of its speakers and, because of the maintenance of rigid class barriers in the pre-war colonial society, there was little motivation to imitate the linguistic behaviour of the socially superior expatriates. However, with English becoming available to many members of the younger generation[1] and with its close association with upward social mobility, there are signs that NGP is now undergoing significant changes in the direction of its original lexifier language, and that, at least in some parts of the community, speech forms intermediate between NGP and English are developing.[2]

This subchapter will present a number of observations about the changes taking place in NGP's lexicon. The main argument is that continued borrowing from English and replacement of lexical material does not primarily result in a referentially more adequate lexicon or in relexification without significant changes in NGP's grammatical structures, but in a complete restructuring of NGP's lexicon at all levels. Thus, the author does not subscribe to the view, often expressed in studies of pidgins and creoles, that borrowing of English lexical

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[1] This small group of bilinguals in NGP and English is still of great importance in lexical borrowing; cf. Givón (1973:9), who speaks of "the pivotal position of a minority of bilinguals who serve as the channel of transmission of new vocabulary."

[2] Remarks about the possible development of such a continuum in NGP have been made, for instance, by Todd (1974a:16) and Bickerton (1975a:24). The latter writes about the socially mobile speaker:

> If that group habitually uses English in its everyday life, then he will attempt to acquire English. But the probability is that he will have had a much less extensive training in English than those he seeks to emulate; inevitably, therefore, what he speaks will be a kind of English heavily flavoured with Tok Pisin. This in turn will become the target of speakers a little lower down the social ladder, who will speak a variety of English yet more admixed with Tok Pisin. By this time, the accumulation of features which are neither truly English nor truly Tok Pisin will be so considerable as to form a sizeable part of the input to the language acquisition device of any child growing up in an urban area; and since the input mix of English, Tok Pisin and the hybrid varieties will vary proportionately for every such child, it will not be long before we have an urban spectrum containing all linguistically possible varieties intermediate between Tok Pisin and English. The process will then filter back into the country along the lorry routes, and airlines, and the continuum situation will be complete.

material can take place freely without changing the character of the pidgin in question (as appears to be implied by Todd (1974b:59-60)).

A last point which needs to be raised before the linguistic description is that the influence of English in NGP's post-pidgin stage differs from speaker to speaker and from context to context. This means that the changes described here are very much individual phenomena and not yet accepted as the norm of a speech-community, as is the case with stabilised and expanded Rural Pidgin. This prevalence of individual linguistic behaviour means that the following description can only highlight some typical developments and must not be regarded as the description of any one variety.

4.5.2. *THE LEXICAL INVENTORY*

4.5.2.1. Addition of New Lexical Items

For speakers of Urban Pidgin the whole vocabulary of English is potentially NGP, though their actual knowledge of English imposes certain limits. Because additions to the NGP lexicon are difficult to predict and very large in number (cf. Healey 1971:63), only some instances of lexical additions will be considered here, emphasising some prominent characteristics of this process. First, some areas of meaning in which additions are typically made will be pointed out:

i) Abstract nouns

The use of NGP to discuss abstract notions such as found in the context of higher education, law, government and religion has led to a considerable increase in borrowing of abstract nouns, though many of the terms could well have been generated by the various programs accounting for abstract nouns in expanded NGP. Some examples, taken from written NGP (letters to *Wantok* newspaper, government publications) as well as from NGP spoken by highschool children and on Radio Wewak, include:

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
eksampel	*'example'*
uniti	*'unity'*
fan	*'fun'*
aidia	*'idea'*
kompetisin	*'competition'*
divelopmen	*'development'*

Other areas where numerous items have been borrowed include:

i) Terms relating to new professions

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
turis bot	*'tourist board'*
treni	*'trainee'*
pablik sevan	*'public servant'*
memba	*'member of the House of Assembly'*
spika	*'speaker of the House'*
minista	*'minister'*
et pos odeli	*'aid post orderly'*
metren	*'matron'*
mekanik	*'mechanic'*

With Papua New Guineans being found in most economic and administrative positions, this list has grown considerably in recent years.

ii) Descriptive adjectives

The lack of true adjectives in NGP has led to the adoption of a number of English ones, the following being common in Urban Pidgin:

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
seken	*'second'*
lokal	*'local'*
dimokretik	*'democratic'*
fri	*'free'*
jeles	*'jealous'*
praut	*'proud'*
ris	*'rich'*

iii) Verbs

The following loans are widely encountered in Urban Pidgin and, like the adjectives, appear to have become accepted as part of its vocabulary:

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
miksim	*'to mix'*
yusim	*'to use'*
hairim	*'to hire'*
ilektim	*'to elect'*
komplen	*'to complain'*

Apart from these more widely accepted loans, numerous *ad hoc* innovations are encountered, as exemplified in the following extracts from letters written between 1970 and 1975:

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
kaunsil em i KRITISAISIM katolik misin	*'the councillors criticise the Catholic mission'*
putim tupela mak gen long REPRESENTIM tupela kain kala skin	*'use the two colours again, to represent the two kinds of skin colour'*
orait, mekim stret na ENROLIM tasol ol DROPAUT	*'well, correct the mistake, and enrol the drop-outs'*
wok bilong ol long KIPIM skul graun klin na helpim FRENDS bilong ol long DRESIM KATS o WUNDS	*'their job is to keep the school ground clean and to help their friends to dress cuts or wounds'*

More remarks on the borrowing of new lexical bases in Urban Pidgin have been made by Hall (1956a:106-7).

4.5.2.2. Replacement of Lexical Items

The two classes of lexical items of Rural Pidgin most commonly replaced by others of English origin in Urban Pidgin are i) compounds and lexical phrases, and ii) lexical items of non-English origin. Replacement of compounds will be discussed in subsection 4.5.3.2. whilst the replacement of lexical items of non-English origin can be briefly illustrated with the following examples:

NGP item of non-English origin	Replacement	Gloss
pulpul	grassiket	*'grass-skirt'*
bilum	stringbek	*'string bag'*
longlong	stupit	*'stupid'*
beten	pre	*'to pray'*
gip	poisen	*'poison'*

More examples are given by Hall (1956a:105) and Mühlhäusler (1975e:72).

4.5.2.3. Homophony

One of the major results of increased borrowing whilst preserving the phonological system of NGP is the drastic increase in homophones, a fact which has led observers to remark on the dangers to the communicative efficiency of NGP:

> To add to this number [of homophones] incautiously could well overload the language with forms that sound the same but have different meanings, and all who have to translate into Pidgin should be aware of this danger.
>
> (Laycock 1969:13)

The author has compiled many examples of homophony arising out of borrowing in Urban Pidgin, and his own observations have led him to believe

that the dangers remarked upon by Laycock are indeed very real in this variety. Some examples are:

Urban Pidgin	From English
sip	*'ship, jib, jeep, sieve, chief'*
sem	*'shame, same'*
wet	*'to wait, white, weight'*
sevim	*'to serve, to save'*
sekim	*'to shake, to jack, to check'*
pos	*'post, force'*
wot	*'word, ward'*
lek	*'lake, leg'*
kot	*'coat, court'*
bis	*'beach, beads'*
bot	*'board, boat'*
pas	*'fast, to pass'*
slek	*'slack, select'*
lip	*'lip, leaf, to leave'*
stil	*'still, to steal, steel'*
sel	*'shell, sail, cell'*
pak	*'to fuck, to park (a car), park'*

If the lack of phonological contrasts in some of the less developed varieties of NGP is taken into account, the number of homophones is even more striking;[1] the lack of a distinction between voiced and voiceless initial stops, for instance, would result in cases such as:

NGP	From English
pis	*'beach, beads, fish, peach, piss, feast, peace'*
klas	*'class, clutch, glass'*

The mechanisms for disambiguation are undoubtedly there, particularly in the linguistic and extra-linguistic context. However, because of the *ad hoc* nature of many of these innovations, serious misunderstanding frequently arises. One way of achieving a reduction of homophones would be to replace an existing term when introducing one homophonous with it, and there are signs that this is beginning to happen, as in:

Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
kros-im	*'to swear at'*		
bruk-im	*'to cross'*	kros-im	*'to cross'*
		swer long	*'to swear at'*

[1] Pence (1975:86-7) has drawn attention to a number of cases in which phonological contrast is typically ignored.

Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
pasim	*'to dress, wear'*		
abrusim	*'to pass'*	pas-im	*'to pass'*
		dres	*'to dress'*
		wer-im	*'to wear'*

Further disambiguation is achieved by increasing the phonological inventory of NGP;[1] however, though this solution may be adequate in the context of Urban Pidgin and among speakers with a knowledge of English, it still poses the problem of how effective communication can be established with speakers of Rural Pidgin and other less anglicised varieties of NGP.

4.5.2.4. Observations about the Use of Synonyms

Though the replacement of older lexical items with loans from English and the addition of other loans to NGP's lexicon may result in some breakdown in communication between speakers of Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin, skilled speakers of Urban Pidgin will use such innovations interchangeably with either a previously established term or an *ad hoc* descriptive circumlocution. The use of synonyms belonging to different sociolects was observed, for the first time, in the early 1940s:

> Often, both a word or phrase formed within Pidgin itself and a term borrowed from English or some other source may exist concurrently: thus, 'pocket' is either bak trausis 'a bag for trousers' or poket; 'brown' is either olsem graun 'like earth' or braunpela; 'knee' is either skru bilong lek 'leg-joint' or ni.
>
> (Hall 1943a:193)

The author's observations suggest that 'saying things in two different ways' is a very common phenomenon in speech events involving speakers from different sociolects. Thus, speakers of Urban Pidgin can use innovations such as may enhance their prestige or contribute to clarity of expression without the fear of misinterpretation by a hearer who is skilled in Rural Pidgin only.[2] The same technique is used in letters and some publications printed in NGP. This synonymy is introduced

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[1] cf. remarks by Balint (1973:13-17) and Laycock (1975a:47).

[2] Healey's advice (n.d.:57) to learners of NGP is:

> If necessary use the nearest word or expression for the meaning you want, say it again or say it in another way if it is necessary to get the meaning across. Don't be afraid to repeat anything if it is necessary. Often you may use the correct word but because of your pronunciation the listener may not understand, but by saying it again and if necessary comparing the item or thing to something else, the message can be made clear.

typically in the form of A or B as in mi gat bikpela o impoten nius *'I have big or important news'*. The same phenomenon has also been reported for Middle English, particularly for the years 1250-1400 when numerous French loanwords were flooding the language. Thus Jespersen (n.d.:99f.) reports that an understanding of these new loans was promoted by the systematic use of synonymy:

> A greater assistance may perhaps have been derived from the habit which may have been common in conversational speech, and which was at any rate not uncommon in writing, that of using a French word side by side with its native synonym, the latter serving more or less openly as an interpretation of the former for the benefit of those who were not yet familiar with the more refined expression.

The following list of examples illustrates this use of synonyms belonging to different sociolects in NGP:

NGP	Gloss
ol ofisa i bin RISAIN o LUSIM WOK BILONG OL	*'the officers resigned or left their job'*
em i wok long planim KASANG o PINAT	*'he was busy planting peanuts'*
em i kisim gut RES o MALOLO	*'he takes a good rest'*
yumi mas PREVENTIM o STOPIM	*'we have to prevent or stop'*
taim bilong DE BEHAIN o LAS DE	*'on the day of judgement'*
gavman i LARIM o EKSEPTIM ol	*'the government let or accepted them'*
tupela painim WE o ROT	*'they*(du.) *are looking for a way or road (= method)'*
bodi bilongen i HELTI o NOGAT SIK	*'his body is healthy or has no sickness'*
i tambu tru long PASINDIA o MAN NATING NATING	*'no "passengers" or uninvited people'*
ol bai KAMAP o PAS long eksam	*'they will reach or pass the exam'*
husat bai stretim dispela WARI o HEVI	*'who will relieve this worry or concern'*

Situations where this construction is used include radio broadcasts, medical orderlies speaking with their patients, political speeches, and the law courts; a more detailed study of the construction has been made by Mühlhäusler (1979). The following examples noted by the author during petty sessions in a number of courthouses illustrate the desire on the part of the judge to establish unambiguous communication with the accused and witnesses:

NGP	Gloss
witnes i gat TUPELA TEN KRISMAS o TWENTI YIA	*'the witness is two times ten Christmasses or twenty years old'*
yu mas HELPIM o STRONGIM stori bilong yu	*'you have to support or strengthen your account of the events'*

NGP	Gloss
yu gat haumas KRISMAS o YIA o wanem ES bilong yu?	*'what are your Christmasses or years or age?'*

The use of this device is dependent on the Urban Pidgin speakers' knowledge of Rural Pidgin vocabulary.[1] Whether future generations of Urban Pidgin speakers will still be able to use lexical items from Rural Pidgin or whether the influence of English will result in a separate form of speech no longer understood by speakers of Rural Pidgin cannot yet be predicted.

Whilst some of the most obvious differences between Rural and Urban Pidgin are generally acknowledged and whilst their effects are neutralised by the use of synonymy, the second kind of difference, the more subtle restructuring of lexical information, may prove to be a much more serious source of difficulties in communication between speakers of these two varieties.

4.5.2.5. Changes in Lexical Information

4.5.2.5.1. *General Remarks*

One of the most important developments taking place in NGP's post-pidgin phase is the gradual restructuring of lexical information - particularly at the phonological and semantic levels - to more closely reflect the information contained in the items of English origin to which they were originally related. The changes in lexical information, much more than the additions to NGP's lexicon, must be seen to account for the increasingly wide gap between speakers of Rural and Urban Pidgin. These developments are not unique to NGP, in fact, very similar ones have been observed in the post-creole stage of languages such as Haitian Creole as described by Stewart (1962:149-63). Fairly detailed discussions of the processes involved are given by Hall (1956a:91-109) and Mühlhäusler (1975e:66-74). Again, no attempt will be made to list all changes. Instead some of the characteristic processes involved will be highlighted.

4.5.2.5.2. *Changes in Phonological and Morphological Information*

A speaker's knowledge of English is reflected in three main areas of phonological restructuring:

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[1] Much of the Rural Pidgin vocabulary is still known to speakers of Urban Pidgin, at least passively. Freyberg (1975:35) remarks: "... but we generally find that even readers who regularly use the most recent forms of expression are still able to understand the older forms, whereas the rural people are not so likely to understand the newer modes of expression."

i) The reappearance of non-automatic stress placement, as in:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	Gloss
téte	tudé	*'today'*
lúkaut	lukaút	*'to look for'*
kánaka	kanáka	*'uncivilised person'*

Hall (1956a:94) lists further examples.

ii) The reappearance of segments lost from clusters or unstressed syllables.

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	Gloss
holim	holdim	*'to hold'*
pren	frend	*'friend'*
kaunim	kauntim	*'to count'*
raunim	raundim	*'to round up'*
painim	paindim	*'to look for, find'*
poin	point	*'point, peninsula'*
krut	rikrut	*'recruit'*
tesin	stesin	*'station'*

In some cases this has led to hypercorrection, as with yustim for yusim *'to use'* and kistim for kisim, from English *'to catch'*.

iii) The restoration of morphological relatedness.

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	Gloss
go	go	*'to go'*
kuap	goap	*'to go up, climb'*
daun	daun	*'to (go) down'*
tambilo	daunbilo	*'hold of a ship'*
gat	get	*'to get, have got'*
kirap	getap	*'to get up'*
gat	gat	*'guard'*
katuana	gatovona	*'guard of honour'*

Furthermore, sounds not found in Rural Pidgin are found in Urban Pidgin, particularly with those speakers who have had a formal education in English (cf. Hall 1956a:94-5).

4.5.2.5.3. *Restructuring of Semantic Information*

Whilst the syntactic patterns of Rural Pidgin are still very much preserved even in its urban varieties and whilst, as a consequence,

syntactic information[1] found with individual lexical bases still follows the patterns of NGP, there is considerable restructuring of semantic information. The processes operative here are narrowing and widening of meaning in accordance with the semantic properties of English cognates and, in some instances, a complete shift in meaning for the same reasons.

i) The reduction in the range of meanings found with lexical items in Urban Pidgin is closely associated with the introduction of new lexical material from English which takes over part of the semantic functions previously covered by a single item in NGP. Examples of this development are:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	Gloss
bagarapim	bagarapim	*'to destroy, ruin'*
	spoilim	*'to spoil'*
toktok	toktok	*'to talk, converse'*
	diskas	*'to discuss'*
kuap	goap	*'to have sexual intercourse'*
	klaim	*'to climb'*
haiten	haiten	*'heathen'*
	pegen	*'pagan'*
troimwe	troimwe	*'to throw away'*
	spendim	*'to spend (money)'*
bris	bris	*'bridge'*
	wof	*'wharf'*
amamas	amamas	*'to rejoice'*
	praut	*'to be proud'*

This list could be increased considerably and Mühlhäusler (1975e:93) gives some additional examples. The main function of the narrowing in meaning appears to be a reduction in the amount of linguistic context necessary to disambiguate the often very wide range of meanings encountered in lexical bases of Rural Pidgin. However, the cost is quite considerable, for every new lexical base adds to the amount of lexical irregularity.

ii) Widening of meaning in accordance with the English model is encountered less frequently and, in view of the already high semantic generality

[1] Categorial information of recent loans, for instance, still seems to follow the patterns of Rural Pidgin. Thus ileksen is regarded as a verb base *'to vote'* from which the transitive verbal ileksenim *'to elect someone'* and the abstract nominal ileksen *'the voting, election'* are derived.

of Rural Pidgin, seems not to be a good way of increasing its communicative efficiency, this probably being the reason for its less important role. Some examples are:

NGP	Meaning in Rural Pidgin	Added meaning in Urban Pidgin
pilai	*'to play (games), have sexual intercourse'*	*'to play an instrument'*
rabis	*'poor, poverty'*	*'rubbish, rubbishy'*
tebol	*'table (to eat from)'*	*'(time)table'*
lain	*'labour line, group'*	*'(draw)line'*
hap	*'part of, piece'*	*'half'*
tait	*'tired, rapid (current)'*	*'tight-fitting'*
pul	*'full (of containers)'*	*'full (length)'* as in pul dres *'full length dress'*
trabel	*'fornication'*	*'trouble, distress'*

iii) The difference between widening and replacement of semantic information is gradual in some cases, though clear cases of complete restructuring are encountered as, for instance, in the use of duim meaning *'to do'* instead of Rural Pidgin *'to entice, seduce'*. However the lack of stability in Urban Pidgin makes it difficult to make categorical statements about the use of any lexical item. The shift of meaning resulting in the restructuring of semantic fields will be discussed shortly (4.5.3.1.).

Though there is little doubt that the general trend in the restructuring of lexical information in the anglicised varieties of NGP is in the direction of the English model, this does not mean that this model will be attained in the near future. As yet, it is often what a speaker believes to be English[1] rather than the actual English model which underlies changes in lexical information in Urban Pidgin. At the same time the pressures from expanded Rural Pidgin, in particular those of syntax and word-formation, remain strong and are being reinforced by the availability of printed materials in standardised Rural Pidgin.

Nor does the heavy borrowing of Urban Pidgin mean that lexical information from English is borrowed in its entirety. Though phonological information is usually readily accessible, the lack of opportunity to hear the borrowed items used in their full range of semantic functions often results in an imperfect and haphazard transfer of semantic

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[1] Similar observations have been made for Haitian Creole by Orjala (1975):

> All Creole speakers have some knowledge, however little, of what they conceive to be French. It is not "borrowing" from French in the usual sense but simply dipping into a reserve inventory labelled "French" which is part of the individual's hypersystem.

information. Thus, the author recorded the following meanings for a fairly recent, but now widely used, lexical base jeles derived from English *'jealous': 'to fight with'* (Erima, Madang Province); *'to have sexual intercourse with'* (Goroka); *'to tell a secret'* (Asaro, E.H.P.); *'jealous'* (Wewak). Similarly, praut from *'proud'* can mean *'to be stuck-up', 'to be condescending',* or *'to boast'* but is seldom used in the positive meaning as found in *'I am proud to announce ...'*. Again, muvmen from *'movement'* generally refers to cargo cult movements involving the physical movement of populations rather than to their ideas. The study of ongoing semantic changes in Urban Pidgin certainly offers extremely interesting perspectives.

4.5.3. *THE LEXICAL SYSTEM IN NGP'S POST-PIDGIN STAGE*

4.5.3.1. The Impact of Borrowing on Lexical Fields

It has been shown in the discussion of stabilised and expanded NGP that its semantic field properties are typically quite different from those of English, reflecting Melanesian rather than European ways of thinking. Though lexical bases of English origin were encountered in a number of tightly structured semantic fields, their semantic information was found to be shaped by the semantic properties of the field concerned. Thus, brata derived from English *'brother'* was found to refer to a *'sibling of the same sex'* in NGP kinship terminology.

The introduction of new loans and the semantic reinterpretation of already established loans in Urban Pidgin can lead to the breakdown and restructuring of existing semantic fields. A number of examples illustrating this point are:

i) yes and nogat

The function of yes in Rural Pidgin is to confirm that what was asked in a yes/no question is the case, whether this question is negative or not (cf. Hall 1956b:502-3). It is not well known, however, that it also serves to assert that a presupposition underlying a wh-question is correct, as in:

Rural Pidgin	Gloss
Yu lukim pik? Yes, (mi lukim)	*'Did you see the pig? Yes.'*
Yu no lukim pik? Yes, (mi no lukim)	*'Didn't you see the pig? No.'*
Yu husat? Yes.	*'Who are you?* (presupposition: *Do I know you*). *Yes (you do know me)'*

Nogat *'no'* refers to the opposite cases. The reinterpretation of yes and nogat in the light of English semantics, however, has led to a situation in which there is complete confusion about the meaning of answers to negative yes/no questions:

NGP	Interpretation in Rural Pidgin	Interpretation in Urban Pidgin
Yu no kam asde? Yes.	*'Didn't you come yesterday?* *No, I didn't.'*	*'Didn't you come yesterday?* *Yes, I did.'*
Masta i no stap? Nogat.	*'Isn't your employer at home?* *Yes, he is.'*	*'Isn't your employer at home?* *No, he isn't.'*

The confusion arising out of the divergent conventions about answering negative questions has been pointed out by a number of writers (e.g. Dutton 1973:184 fn.1) and it appears that the only way to avoid misunderstandings is not to ask negative questions.

ii) Time-reference

The NGP lexical bases tumara derived from English *'tomorrow'*, asde or astete derived from *'yesterday'* and nau derived from *'now'*, differ from their English source words - in Rural Pidgin - in that they can refer to the relative time-points in a sequence of narrated events as well as to the absolute time-system of the speech event, whilst in English such time adverbials only refer to the latter. Though the English bias of available dictionaries has meant that this aspect of the NGP lexicon has been ignored,[1] the present author has found that the following system of time reference is virtually universal in Rural Pidgin:

Rural Pidgin	Gloss
tumara	*'tomorrow, the next day'*
asde	*'yesterday, the day before'*
nau	*'now, then (at the time this happened)'*
baimbai	*'in the future, afterwards'*

In Urban Pidgin, one frequently finds a restructuring which reflects the English system of time reference, such as:

Urban Pidgin			
tumara	*'tomorrow'*	neks de	*'next day'*
asde	*'yesterday'*	long de bipo	*'the day before'*

A similar restructuring can be observed with regard to certain names for times of the day, for instance the shift of meaning of apinun from *'time just before darkness'* to English *'afternoon'*. There is considerable

[1] Thus, Mihalic (1971) glosses tumara as *'tomorrow'*, and asde simply as *'yesterday'*. Only nau is glossed correctly as *'now'* and *'then'*.

confusion about when it is appropriate to say gut apinun as against gut de.

iii) Kinship terms

Because NGP's kinship system was based, according to Mead (1931:148), on a matrilineal system used in the area of its stabilisation, certain difficulties arose during its spread into areas with other kinship systems:

> Because pidgin is a language that stretches over half a hundred different cultures, strange anomalies grow up. The natives who had first contact with the white culture were matrilineal people, and they learned to describe the members of their mother's clan as "country belong me." When a patrilineal people like the Admiralty Islanders came to speak pidgin, they were in difficulties which they surmounted by the device of retaining the reference to maternal relatives as "country belong me" and calling their own patrilineal clan "place belong me." The term "**mama**" is applied to all women of the generation above the speaker; so the investigator in court case or census has to follow a devious route in finding out true relationship. "Em he **mama** belong me." "He **mama** true belong you?" "Yes, he **mama** belong me." "You come up along bel(ly) belong em?" "No, me no come up along bel belong em. He **mama**, that's all." An own father is referred to by the phrase so aptly describing the tender care that a Melanesian father gives his little children, "he papa he carry me true."

Similar difficulties are encountered in present-day Urban Pidgin, resulting from i) restructuring of semantic properties of some established terms, such as brata Urban Pidgin *'brother'* instead of Rural Pidgin *'sibling of same sex'*, susa Urban Pidgin *'sister'* instead of Rural Pidgin *'sibling of opposite sex'*, and ii) the replacement of some terms such as kandare *'maternal relative'* and smolpapa *'maternal uncle'* by loans such as ankel *'maternal or paternal uncle'*, kasin *'cousin'* or nis *'niece'*. It appears that these changes will eventually lead to the wholesale adoption of the English kinship system in Urban Pidgin, with resulting communication difficulties across sociolectal boundaries.

iv) Number system

The system used in NGP, in which all names for numbers are regularly derived, is being replaced by the English one, a process already observed by Reed (1943:283) some thirty years ago: "But as the employed natives now gradually learn the English cardinal up to twenty, the Melanesian pattern of enumeration is dropping out of pidgin."

Thus one finds replacements such as:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	Gloss
wanpela ten wan	eleven	*'eleven'*
wanpela ten tu	twelp	*'twelve'*
tupela ten	twenti	*'twenty'*
tripela ten wan	teti wan	*'thirty one'*

v) Names for parts of the body

A final semantic field in which borrowing from English has led to considerable restructuring is that of names for parts of the body. The introduction of English loans into Urban Pidgin has led to differentiation not previously found in NGP, for instance:

Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
pinga	*'finger, toe'*	pinga	*'finger'*
		to	*'toe'*
lek	*'leg, hindleg of animal'*	lek	*'leg, leg of animal'*
	'foot'	fut	*'foot'*
han	*'arm, foreleg of animal'*	han	*'hand'*
	'hand'	am	*'arm'*

Similar changes can be observed in the metaphorical use of certain names for body parts. Thus the expression lek bilong wara *'mouth of a river'* has been replaced by maus bilong riva *'mouth of a river'* in Urban Pidgin (cf. Todd and Mühlhäusler 1978).

The consequences of borrowing new names from English and restructuring the semantic information contained in established ones has led, in many cases, to significant changes in the semantic field properties of the NGP lexicon. The fact that different conventions about the organisation of such fields exist in rural and urban communities can become a source of misunderstandings[1] of the kind found between speakers of Tok Masta and Rural Pidgin. At this stage, the development of new lexical fields in Urban Pidgin is not yet complete, and its semantic structures appear to be much less closely knit than those of expanded Rural Pidgin. A similar loss in lexical structuring is apparent with regard to the formation of new lexical items.

4.5.3.2. Changes in the Derivational Lexicon

Whilst lexical growth in expanded Rural Pidgin resulted mainly from the use of productive programs for the formation of lexical items when new names were required, Urban Pidgin has been shown to rely heavily on loans from English. As in the case of semantic fields, such loans not only affect the list or inventory of lexical bases, but also NGP's lexical system.

The impact of borrowing from English on the system of formation of lexical items in NGP manifests itself in a number of ways:

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[1] A study of instances of non-understanding and misunderstanding of a number of recent loanwords has been made by Franklin (1975:142-6).

i) It can lead to the establishment of new lexical programs.
ii) It can increase the productivity of existing programs.
iii) It can lead to the establishment of alternative programs fulfilling a function already fulfilled by existing ones.
iv) It can provide absolute exceptions to lexical programs.

(cf. Mühlhäusler 1975a:47-51)

Case i) Additional lexical programs

A number of new patterns of MF have made their appearance in NGP in recent years. An example is the derivation of transitive verbals from noun bases to express *'remove N'*. The forms found include selim *'to shell'*, and palpim *'to pulp'*. Another example involving MF is that of deriving a verbal from a noun base referring to a part of the body to indicate 'perform an action with the body part concerned', examples being hetim bal *'to head the ball'* and toim bal *'to toe the ball'*, both current in football terminology.

There are a number of other cases of such incipient programs of MF. In most instances the productivity of these newly acquired programs is very limited. However, continued borrowing may increase the number of items susceptible to a new program. Instances which were observed in Urban Pidgin include the cases laisens *'license'* - laisensim *'to license'*, profit *'profit'* - profit *'to profit'*, namba *'number'* - namba[r]im *'to number'*, and ripot *'report'* - ripotim *'to report someone'*.

Additional programs are also found with compounding, such as the type (N_1 + N_2) N_2 → N_2 i bilong rausim N_1 *'N_2 serves to remove/keep off N_1'*, as in flaiwaia *'fly wire, fly screen'*, winskrin *'windscreen'* or kusmarasin *'cough medicine'*. Other new loans or calques which are as yet of very low productivity include the types represented by compounds such as kalasiket *'coloured skirt'*, pingaprin *'fingerprint'*, poketmani *'pocketmoney'*, and others.

ii) Increased productivity of existing lexical programs

Increased productivity of existing programs is brought about either by borrowing both lexical bases and derived items from English (as is the case with mas *'march, to march'* which may have been borrowed as both verb and noun) or by the fact that new loans are successfully integrated into existing patterns of lexical derivation. Thus, with regard to MF, one finds that the majority of new loans - once they have become part of the NGP vocabulary - can perform functions other than those they perform in English. The semantic properties of the new loans, rather than their categorial status in the source language, appears to be decisive. Among more recent innovations which have successfully been

integrated into the grammar of NGP word-formation, the following two cases will serve as an illustration:

a) Intransitive verb bases used as abstract nominals (MF Program 19).

Intransitive verb base		Abstract nominal	
hepi	*'happy'*	hepi	*'happiness'*
helti	*'healthy'*	helti	*'health'*
kleva	*'clever'*	kleva	*'cleverness'*
jeles	*'jealous'*	jeles	*'jealousy'*
stupit	*'stupid'*	stupit	*'stupidity'*
smat	*'smart'*	smat	*'smartness'*

b) Nominal compounds indicating that an object or person is found in a certain locality (CP Program 13).

New loans such as buskem *'bushcamp'*, hetlain *'headline'* or skulboi *'schoolboy'* are assumed to follow an already established pattern accounting for compounds such as hanwas *'wristwatch'* or busman *'wild man, bush dweller'*.

iii) The establishment of alternative programs

It has been shown (cf. 4.4.3.2.5.) that, during the expansion of NGP, more than one lexical program could have come to fulfil similar or identical functions with regard to the formation of lexical items. The establishment of alternative programs is reflected, for instance, in the shift of size level and ordering of the elements contained in certain compounds, which leads to the development of a number of variants for lexical items, for instance:

Rural Pidgin	Urban Pidgin	Gloss
tok ples	plestok	*'local language'*
sit bet	betsit	*'bed sheet'*
masta rot	rotmasta	*'road constructor'*
haus morata	moratahaus	*'house constructed of bush materials'*
gris pik	pikgris	*'pig grease, lard'*

Another instance is the large number of loanwords derived from English lexical items ending in *-er*. Thus one finds, particularly in Urban Pidgin, names for people alongside verbs relating to these names, i.e. pairs of the kind:

Nominal item		Verbal item	
draiwa	*'driver'*	draiw(im)	*'to drive'*
daiwa	*'diver'*	daiw	*'to dive'*
tisa	*'teacher'*	tis(lm)	*'to teach'*

Nominal item		Verbal item	
ridima	*'redeemer'*	ridimim	*'to redeem'*
spika	*'speaker'*	spik(im)	*'to speak'*

As yet such pairs must be regarded as unproductive exceptions but it is conceivable that some speakers of Urban Pidgin may develop other nouns derived from verbs such as *haita *'someone who hides'*, or *pama *'someone who pumps or sprays insecticides'*. Under those circumstances, the program involving a derivational affix -a would compete with other programs such as V + man in bilipman *'believer'*, sinman *'sinner'*, winman *'winner'*, etc.

The establishment of alternative programs may contribute to increased stylistic flexibility of NGP, but, from the point of view of simplification of lexical structures, it is disfunctional, particularly when lexical bases can appear only with a subset of the programs available for a certain lexical derivation.

iv) Suppletion resulting from borrowing in Urban Pidgin

Because borrowing in Urban Pidgin takes place without much regard for existing lexical patterns of the language, it is commonly found that new loans are suppletive to already established lexical programs. Before discussing this point, it is necessary to point out that the principal reasons for the derivational 'barrenness' of many loans,[1] are that they i) consist of more than two syllables, ii) are morphologically complex in the lexifier language, or iii) that whole lexical phrases are borrowed. Nevertheless, such items are introduced into Urban Pidgin in great numbers. Some examples are:

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
ol i laikim YUNAITET P.N.G.	*'they want a united P.N.G.'*
dispela kantri em i DIMOKRATIK	*'this country is democratic'*
man i spak na kisim trabel bai i kisim bikpela PANISMEN	*'someone who drinks and gets into trouble will get a severe punishment'*
komiti bipo i bin putim wanpela RIKOMENDESEN	*'the committee earlier proposed a recommendation'*

[1] Their non-susceptibility to programs of functional change, for instance, is illustrated by the fact that, although the semantics of loans such as ridikules *'ridiculous'* or kompetisin *'competition'* would allow their functional shift, it would result in phonologically unacceptable forms such as *ridikulesim *'to ridicule'* and *kompetisinim *'to compete with'*. Nouns which are morphologically complex in the source language tend to belong to this category too. The forms fridom *'freedom'*, kompetisin *'competition'*, institusen *'institution'* and posisin *'position'* can only be noun bases in NGP. Similarly, adjectives which are morphologically complex in English can only be used as adjective bases in NGP. Examples are sosel *'social'*, nesinel *'national'*, konstitusenel *'constitutional'*, and ikonomik *'economic'*.

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
ol i trening long MEDIKOL IMEJENSI	*'they are undergoing training for medical emergencies'*
yu nogat inap EKSPERIENS	*'you haven't got enough experience'*
gavman i wok nau long redim KOMON ROL	*'the government is busy preparing the common electoral roll'*
siaman bilong NESENEL KALSURAL KAUNSIL	*'the chairman of the National Cultural Council'*
ol wanwan memba bilong BOT OV MENESMEN	*'each member of the board of management'*

All the above examples were taken from the otherwise linguistically conservative newspaper *Wantok*, illustrating the degree to which such innovations have already become accepted as a necessity in discussing certain aspects of Papua New Guinean society. The list could easily be expanded.

Whilst the cases just listed cannot be integrated into NGP's derivational lexicon for reasons that have to do with their phonological and morphological composition, there are other instances which have become suppletive to existing patterns because they are replacements of already regularly derived lexical items. The following list contains a number of such cases found commonly in Urban Pidgin. For example, abstract nominals which can be derived from verb or adjective bases (MF Programs 14, 19 and 23) have been replaced by unmotivated borrowed items as in:

Rural Pidgin		Urban Pidgin	
bekim *'to answer'*	bekim *'the answer'*	bekim *'to answer'*	ansa *'the answer'*
bungim *'to gather'*	bung *'gathering place'*	kolektim *'to gather'*	bung *'gathering place'*
hariap *'to hurry up'*	hariap *'speed'*	hariap *'to hurry up'*	spit *'speed'*
subim *'to shove'*	subim *'force'*	subim *'to shove'*	pos *'force'*
tingting *'to think'*	tingting *'idea'*	tingting *'to think'*	aidia *'idea'*
hevi *'heavy'*	hevi *'weight'*	hevi *'heavy'*	wait *'weight'*
peim *'to pay'*	pe *'pay, wages'*	peim *'to pay'*	wes *'wages'*
vot *'to vote'*	vot *'election'*	vot *'to vote'*	ileksen *'election'*
bikpela *'big'*	bik *'size'*	bikpela *'big'*	sais *'size'*

Suppletion in the area of compounding and formation of lexical phrases is manifested in the introduction of new lexical bases, where Rural

Pidgin possesses derived lexical items already. The use of various programs of compounding to generate new names in this variety is contrasted with direct borrowing in Urban Pidgin in the following examples:

Rural Pidgin	Literal Translation	Urban Pidgin	Gloss
smokbalus	*smoke plane*	setplen	*'jet plane'*
bunbalus	*skeleton plane*	helikopta	*'helicopter'*
glasbalus	*glass plane*	helikopta	*'helicopter'*
wilkar	*wheel-cart*	wilbero	*'wheel-barrow'*
senkar	*chain-car*	katapila	*'caterpillar'*
switmuli	*sweet lime*	orins	*'orange'*
solmuli[1]	*sour lime*	lemen	*'lemon'*
bikhangre	*big hunger*	femin	*'famine'*
bikgraun	*big land*	menlen	*'mainland'*
bikman	*big man*	sip	*'chief'*

The chapter on language planning will contain a further discussion of these and similar examples.

4.5.4. *LEXICAL PROPERTIES OF POST-PIDGIN NGP: SUMMARY*

The post-pidgin stage is characterised by both functional and linguistic expansion of NGP. Whilst NGP's functional expansion is in the direction of those areas of discourse which are most closely related with new urban (post-colonial) ways of life, its structural expansion is influenced heavily by borrowing from English in an at least partly diglossic situation.

Massive borrowing of lexical material from English has been described as imposing severe strains on the structure of NGP and has led to a partial replacement of the structures found in expanded Rural Pidgin. Whilst some instances of borrowing increase NGP's referential adequacy without fundamentally affecting its semantic and grammatical structures, others cannot be integrated into existing lexical patterns and therefore lead to considerable interference.[2]

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[1] Some speakers also use the compound paitmuli *'bitter muli'* to refer to a lemon.

[2] The fact that lexical borrowing in the post-pidgin stage affects NGP's grammatical structure can be taken as evidence against relexification theory, as has been pointed out by Hall (1975:181-7) and, for French Creole, by Valdman (1973:531). The latter observes:

> Decreolization, like relexification, is characterized by lexical restructuring. If one would observe in present-day creoles wholesale lexical shift without accompanying restructuring of the grammatical system, then this would constitute strong evidence for the relexification hypothesis. But it was shown in Section 5 above that in Haitian and Saint-Thomas Creoles the introduction of French vocabulary was invariably accompanied by some modification of the grammatical structure.

At this stage, borrowing from English is still very much an *ad hoc* phenomenon, i.e. it is very much determined by the choice of individuals with access to English rather than by social norms. The author has not undertaken any detailed study of implicational ordering in lexical borrowing, thus following up DeCamp's suggestions (1971b:354ff.) that it is possible to devise linear linguistic continua, using, for instance, lexical evidence. Whilst borrowing from a socially superordinate language will involve some degree of randomness, there may well be significant tendencies in the ways in which borrowing from English is associated with NGP's internal structure. The study of the urban varieties of NGP could become of great importance for the understanding of the development of linguistic continua intermediate between a pidgin or creole and its superimposed target language. A recent study of depidginisation of Nigerian Pidgin English by Obilade (1977) contains some interesting suggestions about possible implicational ordering during this stage.

4.6. LEXICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CREOLISED NGP

4.6.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The development of first-language varieties of NGP occurs in both rural and urban areas. Research to date has established that:

i) the linguistic expansion in creolised varieties of NGP is manifested differently in different localities
ii) creolisation in NGP appears to carry further trends already found with fluent second-language speakers (cf. Sankoff and Laberge 1973:45).

The linguistic developments occurring with creolisation are regulated and checked by the fact that one of the principal functions in NGP, even for first-language speakers, is a lingua franca in communication with second-language NGP speakers. Thus, new linguistic developments in creolised NGP have a chance of survival only if they do not differ significantly from the norms current in fluent second-language NGP.

The author has observed that the speech of children growing up with NGP as their first language differs more from second-language NGP than that of adult first-language NGP speakers. He has also observed adults actively discouraging children from using forms which they consider too progressive.[1] However, because of the preliminary nature of the present

[1] On the other hand, Sankoff (1975a:106) reports that the speech of children whose first language is NGP is regarded favourably by adults in the urban environment. As yet, the attitudes towards creolised NGP have not been studied in detail and no generalisations appear to be warranted.

study no detailed investigation of children's speech was made. It is hoped, however, that such a study will be carried out in the near future, since it could throw more light on a number of important questions in connection with creolisation.

The remarks in this subchapter are based on observations made in Malabang village on Manus Island. The variety of creolised NGP spoken there has developed out of fluently spoken second-language Rural Pidgin. Creolisation in other localities, particularly urban areas, can be expected to be different in some regards. However, at present, no studies of changes in the lexicon of urban varieties of NGP are at hand.

4.6.2. *THE LEXICAL INVENTORY*

Though the author has not made an exhaustive study of the inventory of lexical bases in creolised NGP, he has observed that this inventory does not differ significantly from that found in expanded Rural Pidgin. However, speakers of creolised NGP in this community did rely on lexical bases from surrounding vernaculars for names of animals, fish, plants and related natural phenomena, i.e. names needed in a rural setting and not available in expanded NGP. Some examples recorded in Malabang are:

Malabang creolised NGP	Descriptive phrase provided	Gloss
pehelu	liklik binatang i olsem star	*'firefly'*
goha	pisin i save putim bikpela kiau long graun	*'bird which lays big eggs on the ground'*
ramai	bikpela pisin olsem kakaruk	*'big bird like a chicken'*
peau	sak birua	*'kind of man-eating shark'*
maluam	i kain welpis	*'kind of whale'*
menuai	bikpela pisin	*'eagle'*

All the above forms clearly come from Admiralty languages, though it is difficult to trace them to any single source, since cognates are found in a number of languages. Two other lexical items recorded in Malabang creolised NGP could not be traced to an Admiralty language, these being:[1]

Malabang creolised NGP	Descriptive phrase provided	Gloss
kalalauai	kain bataplai	*'kind of butterfly'*
mala	biknem bilong sel	*'generic name for shell'*

[1] One can speculate that kalalauai might be a compound containing the NGP lexical base kala *'colour'*, whilst mala may be related to NGP mal or malo *'(bark) penis cover'*. Another item which could not be traced to a local language, orain = star i lait i kamap long apinun *'evening star, Hesperus'*, may have been derived from English *'Orion'*.

The list presented here is only preliminary; however it illustrates the principle that certain referential deficiencies in creolised NGP are repaired by borrowing names, particularly those referring to local phenomena, from surrounding vernaculars.

4.6.3. *THE LEXICAL SYSTEM*

4.6.3.1. General Observations

The main mechanism for lexical expansion in rural creolised NGP is the use of already established patterns for the formation of lexical items to generate new names, as are needed when the language is used in the full set of functions required of a human language. Creolised NGP is thus seen primarily as a continuation of trends already found in expanded Rural Pidgin, the main difference being one of degree rather than kind. Important developments in Malabang creolised NGP include the fact that the restriction which bars multiple derivation is very much relaxed and that a new program of compounding has been introduced, providing stylistic alternatives to an already existing one.

4.6.3.2. Increased Productivity of Lexical Programs

The following examples from Malabang NGP illustrate the use of derived lexical items which were not - or only seldom - found in other areas of Papua New Guinea visited by the author, though such items would be easy to understand. The increased productivity of lexical programs found in this variety of creolised NGP is comparable to some of the developments described in the discussion of expanded NGP, for instance the derivation of causative verbals from adjective and verb bases (MF Programs 16 and 21). Increased productivity of derivational programs in Malabang NGP can be illustrated with the occurrence of new abstract nominals derived from verb or adjective bases (MF Programs 14 and 19). Examples are:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
no ken gat SOT bilong wara	*'there won't be a SHORTAGE of water'*
i gat planti HARIM bilong tok pisin	*'there are many DIALECTS of NGP'*
maski mi gat STING nogut	*'although I have a bad INFECTION'*
i gat planti kain KOLIM bilongen	*'there are many different NAMES for it'*
RAIT bilong mi i no klia tumas	*'my WAY OF WRITING is not very clear'*
KARIM bilong dispela meri i hat tru	*'the ACT OF CHILDBIRTH is very painful for this woman'*
DILIM bilong yu i no stret	*'your WAY OF DEALING (cards) is not correct'*
em i lukim RON bilong olgeta pis	*'he looked at the MOVEMENT of the fish'*

The derivation of verbal lexical items from nouns referring to localities, a program which has been shown by Mühlhäusler (1975a:32) to be of fairly restricted productivity in Rural Pidgin, is much freer in Malabang NGP. New forms include:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
hulim	*'to put into a hole, especially when playing marbles'*
kemim	*'to put in a camp, enclosure'*

A third instance of a program of functional change is the direct derivation of causative verbals from verb or adjective bases (MF Programs 16 and 21), which in Malabang NGP appears to apply to all adjective or intransitive verb bases and to be fully recognised as a stylistic variant of the paraphrastic construction mekim N i Adj/V:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
wara i STINGIM ol plang	*'the water makes the planks rot'*
dispela kaikai i SWITIM maus bilong mi	*'this food gives my mouth a pleasant taste'*
meri i BONIM pikinini	*'the woman gave birth to a child'*
em i wok long RAUNIM diwai	*'he is busy making a piece of wood round'*
meri i SMATIM em yet	*'the girl dolled herself up'*

New examples of verbs derived from nouns referring to instruments (MF Program 1) include:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
em i bin go AKISIM paiawut	*'he went to cut firewood with an axe'*
POKIM kaikai	*'to eat food with a fork'*
SENIM kago	*'to lift up loads with a chain'*
mi mas LETIM trausis bilong mi	*'I must fasten my trousers with a belt'*
man i bin KOSIM rot	*'he found his way by means of a compass* (kos)*'*
mi mas SOKIM lek bilong sia	*'I have to put a wedge* (sok) *under the leg of the chair'*

A new development in Malabang NGP is the backformation of intransitive verbs or adjectives from verbs which are usually transitive in other varieties of NGP; for example, spoilim is interpreted as mekim i spoil *'cause to be ruined, unfit'*, with spoil rather than spoilim being the lexical base. This recategorisation not only increases the number of pairs of intransitive and causative verbs, but also allows the derivation of additional abstract nominals such as spoil *'the ruin, damage'*. Though this is not found with all those verb bases which are transitive

in second-language NGP, it is a very common feature of the Malabang NGP lexicon, for instance:

Standard NGP		Malabang NGP	
Transitive verb base	Intransitive verb base	Derived causative	Abstract nominal
panisim *'to punish'*	panis *'to suffer, be punished'*	panisim *'to punish'*	panis *'punishment'*
wes(t)im *'to waste'*	wes *'to be wasted'*	westim *'to waste'*	wes *'wastage'*
blesim *'to bless'*	bles *'to be blessed'*	blesim *'to bless'*	bles(im) *'blessing'*
tekeweim *'to remove'*	tekewe *'to peel'*	tekeweim *'to remove'*	tekewe *'removal'*
spoilim *'to spoil'*	spoil *'to be spoiled'*	spoilim *'to spoil'*	spoil *'act of spoiling'*

Of the new compounds found in Malabang NGP, the increased use of CP Program 16, which converts phrases of the type N i V_{int} into compounds of the type (V_{int} + N) V_{int}, was observed, its use having been extended from that involving nouns referring to body parts, as in belisi *'peaceful, contented'* or hanbruk *'having a broken arm'*, to others, as in:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
dispela ples i MANSOT nau	*'this village is short of people, has few inhabitants'*
em i go huk, tasol em i LUSROP	*'he went fishing, but he returned empty-handed (his fishing line was empty)'*

Other new compounds involving parts of the body, are:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
ol i sindaun LEKPAS	*'they sat with crossed legs'*
mi SIKHET long san	*'I got dizzy in the sun'*
NUSPAS	*'having a blocked nose'*
ASPAS	*'unable to defecate, constipated'*

A new program of compounding involves the item po *'man'* and pi *'girl, woman'*, borrowed from one of the vernaculars spoken nearby, and NGP noun bases. Examples are:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
pomanus	*'a true Manus man'*
pimanus	*'a true Manus woman'*
popaip	*'a pipe smoker'*
pobrus	*'a cigar smoker'*
pospak	*'a habitual drinker'*

The range of functions of this program duplicates that of man bilong N found in other varieties of NGP and therefore contributes to stylistic rather than referential adequacy.

The main function of the vigorous use of reduplication in lively conversations or story-telling in Malabang NGP is also to increase stylistic flexibility rather than to provide new names, as in the following two passages:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
nau tupela KALAPKALAP i go antap na arapela kilim wanpela, arapela kilim wanpela, arapela kilim wanpela na tupela brukim IGOGOGO, tupela i karim i kam long wara na tupela HIPHIP ...	*'then the two of them jumped up quickly and hit one another several times, and the two kept on breaking (stones) and they carried them to the river and made great heaps ...'*
tupela i no laik go tambilo na tupela i brukim bris, na bris i bruk, tupela bris i bruk, tupela BRUKBRUK, orait, na tupela pundaun long wara ...	*'the two of them did not want to go down, and they broke the bridges, two bridges were broken, broken to little pieces, and fell into the river ...'*

4.6.3.3. The Relaxation of Derivational Constraints

The relaxation of certain constraints on the formation of new word-level items has also been observed by the author in other parts of Papua New Guinea and some such cases will be mentioned in Chapter 5. However, Malabang NGP differs in degree from these developments in expanded NGP, in that these restrictions are virtually non-existent. The disappearance of the constraint specifying that words should not consist of more than two morphemes can be seen in the following examples observed in spontaneous conversations:

Malabang NGP	Gloss
nektaiim	*'to tie a necktie around someone'*
hankapim	*'to put handcuffs on'*
kolsiselim	*'to cut with a cold chisel'*
pinistaimman	*'returned labourer'*
bikhetpasin	*'stubbornness'*

More important, and hardly ever observed in non-creolised varieties of NGP, is the high incidence of multiple derivation, i.e. the operation of lexical programs on derived lexical items, as in:

a) derivation of abstract nouns from derived verbals:

huk → huk → huk
'hook' *'to go fishing'* *'fishing'*

kuk → kukim → ol Hailans i gat narapela KUKIM bilong saksak
'to boil, cook' *'to cook something'* *'the Highlanders have a different COOKING METHOD for sago'*

b) derivation of abstract nouns from reduplicated verbs:

holim *'to hold'*	→ holholim *'to grasp, hold fast'*	→ paip i gut long HOLHOLIM bilongen *'the pipe is good with regard to its HANDLING QUALITIES'*
lukim *'to look, watch'*	→ luklukim *'to gaze, stare'*	→ meri i gut long LUKLUKIM bilongen *'the girl is really very good looking'*

c) reduplication of derived verbals:

smok *'smoke'*	→ smokim *'to smoke (coconuts)'*	→ smoksmokim *'to smoke thoroughly'*
sak *'bag'*	→ sakim *'to fill in bags'*	→ saksakim *'to fill many bags'*
krugut *'crooked'*	→ krugutim *'to crush'*	→ krukrugutim *'to crush to little pieces'*

4.6.4. *THE LEXICON OF CREOLISED NGP: SUMMARY*

The transition from expanded NGP to the variety of creolised NGP described in this section (creolised Rural Pidgin) is gradual, and the main effect of creolisation appears to be that the potential of the lexicon of expanded NGP is exploited more fully.[1]

Lexical expansion of creolised NGP relies mainly on the lexical programs of expanded NGP, though some of the restrictions found there are relaxed or abolished. The introduction of multiple derivation in Malabang NGP, though as yet not realised with all programs, must be regarded as the potential source of a very large number of new lexical items which could not only meet the need for new names, but also increase the stylistic potential of this variety of NGP.

Borrowing of lexical bases is restricted to vocabulary from local vernaculars and that area of semantics which is linked with the description of the local environment and customs. At the same time, new lexical material borrowed from English is filtering through from Urban Pidgin, though at a very slow rate. The fact that a primary school has been built in Malabang recently may accelerate this kind of borrowing in the near future.

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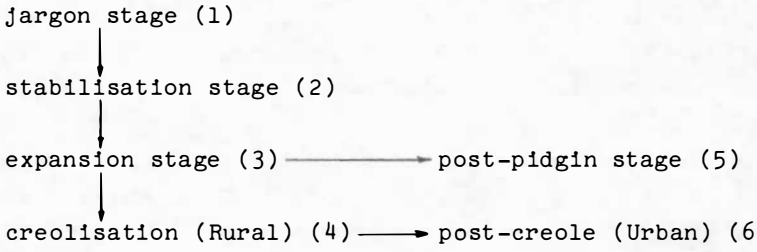
[1] cf. Sankoff and Laberge (1973:45) remark on creolisation of Urban Pidgin: "We are not arguing that the presence of native speakers creates sudden and dramatic changes in a language, but rather that their presence may be one factor in influencing directions in language change."

4.7. NATURE AND GROWTH OF THE NGP LEXICON IN RELATION TO ITS LIFE-CYCLE: SUMMARY

Subchapters 4.2. and 4.6. have dealt with the development of the lexicon of NGP from its beginnings up to the present day. For this purpose a model distinguishing five significant stages in the internal development of NGP was proposed. The various stages can be conceived of as forming two types of continua: i) a developmental continuum characterised by increasing linguistic complexity, and ii) lectal continua intermediate between various points of the developmental continuum and English. The developmental (vertical) continuum comprises the jargon, stabilisation and creolisation stages, whilst the post-pidgin and post-creole stages do not necessarily involve an increase in structural complexity, and thus can be assigned to a lectal continuum. Thus, the development of NGP can be represented as follows:



At the lexical level these stages in NGP's internal growth are defined both by typical characteristics of the lexical inventory and system and the means of lexical expansion during each stage. At the same time the structural properties of NGP at each stage are related to a number of external events such as have been discussed in Chapter 3. The development of NGP's lexicon can be summarised as follows:

Stage	Nature of Lexicon	Means of Lexical Expansion
1. Jargon Stage	The lexicon is an unstructured list of lexical bases; there are few stable conventions about lexical information. The inventory of bases is very small and not supplemented by mechanisms for the formation of lexical items.	Borrowing, particularly from the language of the socially dominant group.
2. Stabilisation Stage	Development of lexical structures, in particular semantic fields. Relatively stable Conventions about	Borrowing from dominant languages, mainly German and Tolai. Circumlocution as an *ad hoc* means of lexical expansion, gradually

Stage	Nature of Lexicon	Means of Lexical Expansion
	syntactic and semantic properties of lexical items. Total number of lexical items still small but expanding.	supplemented with conventions about the formation of lexical items.
3. Expansion Stage	The lexicon is highly organised and conventions about lexical information and formation of new lexical items are stable. The proportion of derived lexical items is high, with word-level items gradually replacing higher-level items. New additions to the lexicon not only serve to increase referential adequacy but also stylistic flexibility.	The independence of expanded NGP from other linguistic systems is underlined by a very moderate rate of borrowing. Lexical expansion from internal resources, on the other hand, is very important. During NGP's expansion, existing lexical programs become more productive and additional programs become available.
4. Creolisation Stage (Rural Creolised NGP)	Highly organised both with regard to its semantic field properties and to the increase in derivational depth. Stable conventions about all lexical information. Fully adequate for the requirements of first language NGP speakers and stylistically flexible. Its basic character is very similar to that of expanded Rural Pidgin. However, the relaxation of a number of derivational constraints has led to greater productivity and fewer lexicalisations.	Borrowing of lexical bases from local vernaculars is resorted to to meet certain needs such as the discussion of aspects of nature and traditional occupations and beliefs. Otherwise expansion takes place from internal resources, with formation of items at word level being most important.
5. Post-Pidgin Stage	The heavy influence of English leads to instability manifested in the loss of stable conventions about lexical information, the disintegration of structured lexical fields and an increase in suppletive lexical items. There is also a rapid replacement of existing items with loans. Synonymy and homophony resulting from	In spite of the presence of lexical programs, most innovations are loans from English rather than generated by the structures of the NGP lexicon.

Stage	Nature of Lexicon	Means of Lexical Expansion
	borrowing are very pronounced. The borrowing of new terms is an individual rather than a social process and understanding of new lexical material often depends on a hearer's knowledge of English.	

As yet, no study of the lexicon of creolised NGP in urban areas (Stage 6) has been made. However, it seems likely that it will differ from creolisation of Rural Pidgin mainly in its greater dependence on English for new lexical bases.

The above chart must be regarded as an idealisation based on the observation of salient trends in NGP's internal development. Though it is very likely that other pidgins grow in a similar way, sufficient data to support this hypothesis are not yet available.

The findings made in this chapter so far raise a number of questions regarding the theory of pidgin languages, in particular the question of the origin of lexical inventory and structure in pidgin languages. The analysis of NGP's internal growth suggests that a comparison between different pidgins (and creoles), and between such languages and their respective principal lexifier languages, based on synchronic descriptions alone will not suffice as a demonstration of the validity of the various proposals - such as the ones listed by Huttar (1975:685) - as to their linguistic origin and linguistic affiliations.

It is only once pidgins and creoles are considered as dynamic and developing entities and their internal development is known in at least its major outlines that such questions can be meaningfully asked. Since the present study has been concerned with only a subset of NGP grammar, its lexical component, no final pronouncement about these questions as they affect NGP can be made. However, the evidence from the lexicon alone appears to strongly support a polygenetic theory of the origin of NGP, since:

i) the Pacific varieties of Jargon English prior to NGP's stabilisation can hardly be regarded as relexifications of another already established pidgin,

ii) the development of stable conventions both about lexical information and the formation of new lexical items was spread out over a long period of time,

iii) the origin of lexical structures can be traced back to a number of different sources, both internal and external to the grammar of NGP.

The question of the **linguistic affiliations** of NGP must also be seen against the background of its continuous expansion and internal change.[1] Whilst both Melanesian and English influences can be shown to have played a role in NGP's development, the impact of the respective influences differs from stage to stage. Melanesian influences appear to have been most pronounced in the later stages of NGP's stabilisation and during the earlier stages of its expansion. English influences were felt in the later stages of its expansion but, above all, in NGP's post-pidgin stage, represented by present-day Urban Pidgin. The respective influences are often not complementary, but successive to one another.

Claims to the effect that the lexicon of NGP is basically English are certainly not confirmed by linguistic analysis, unless this claim is to be understood as referring to the fact that a large proportion of lexical bases in NGP are cognates of English lexical items. If, on the other hand, the various kinds of lexical information, the organisation of semantic fields and the behaviour of lexical bases in the various lexical programs are taken into account, it can be shown that the properties of NGP lexical bases are typically quite different from their English cognates, with a closer approximation to the latter only to be found in some highly anglicised varieties of NGP.

This account of NGP's internal development is not intended as a complete historical description of its lexicon. Instead, the author has tried to demonstrate the presence of a number of significant processes at different stages of its linguistic development. The inductive generalisations and ordered observations about these developments constitute the data for which a linguistic theory about the development of pidgin and creole languages will have to account.

4.8. REMARKS ON THE LEXICAL PROPERTIES OF SOCIAL, GEOGRAPHIC AND STYLISTIC VARIETIES OF PRESENT-DAY NGP

4.8.1. *INTRODUCTION*

Variation in NGP can be observed along a number of dimensions. Whilst the discussion of the linguistic properties of the NGP lexicon has so far

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[1] The presence of programs of reduplication such as found in NGP in a number of pidgins and creoles, for instance, does not warrant the assumption that these programs were inherited from a common pidgin ancestor since it can be shown that they appeared in NGP only late in its life-cycle.

The question of genetic affiliation of pidgins and creoles has been dealt with by a number of writers, e.g. Taylor (1971:293-6), Hall (1966:99), Turner (1966:205) and Dennis and Scott (1975:2).

been concerned with variation along the historical dimension, i.e. the sequence in time of linguistically distinct varieties of NGP, the present section will be concerned with variation along social, geographical and stylistic dimensions. Because of the fact that temporal and social dimensions intersect, the author will have to refer to the diachronic description of the NGP lexicon in the discussion of three of the five main social varieties. Thus, the variety described as **expanded NGP** represents **Rural Pidgin** as spoken by the majority of Papua New Guineans outside the urban centres, the variety labelled **post-pidgin NGP** is representative of the anglicised sociolect of **Urban Pidgin**, spoken by urban dwellers and those with an English-based educational background, and **creolised NGP**, which has been described as a stage in the life cycle of NGP, could also be regarded as a social variety. To this must be added that creolised NGP can develop out of both Urban and Rural Pidgin.

The two remaining sociolects **Tok Masta** and **Bush Pidgin**, though similar in kind to the unstable varieties of Jargon English, will be discussed separately. Though their importance in present-day NGP is not great, their study can provide some evidence about NGP's linguistic character before stabilisation. Tok Masta can be thought of as reflecting the broken English used by the Europeans in the early jargon context, whilst Bush Pidgin will bear similarity to the 'native' version of this early jargon. A significant difference, however, is that Bush Pidgin eventually comes closer to an already stable variety of Rural Pidgin, whilst stabilisation in the history of NGP resulted from other factors.

Very little is known about geographical differences in the lexicon. It appears, however, that what differences there are are found primarily with regard to Rural Pidgin, though it is conceivable that special varieties of NGP may be developing in the various urban centres.

No distinction between sociolects will be made in the discussion of special levels of style found in NGP since access to the stylistic resources observed appears to be shared by fluent second-language and first-language speakers in both urban and rural environments.[1] On the other hand, most of the special group languages, such as secret cargo varieties of NGP, can be regarded as special registers of Rural Pidgin.

No mention will be made of literary varieties of NGP since this topic has been exhaustively dealt with by Laycock (1977).

[1] This point has been discussed by Brash (1975:322).

4.8.2. *THE LEXICAL PROPERTIES OF NGP SOCIOLECTS*

4.8.2.1. Tok Masta

Tok Masta can be considered a special register of English rather than a variety of NGP, and the actual linguistic performance of Tok Masta speakers often reflects what some expatriates believe NGP to be like rather than a knowledge of its syntactic and lexical rules. Obviously, such intuitions differ from speaker to speaker and the varieties referred to as Tok Masta range from broken English to approximations to standard forms of NGP.

The Tok Masta speaker's knowledge of NGP's lexical inventory is typically restricted to those items used in the narrow context of giving orders in the domestic and labour situation. But even in the narrow context of the kitchen or plantation, many Europeans use their own variety of simplified English rather than proper NGP lexical items.[1] The rapid replacement of domestic terms of German origin by the corresponding terms of English origin is an indication of this fact.

The list of loanwords in the English spoken by the expatriates in Papua New Guinea, compiled by Wolfers (1969:55ff.), gives some indication of the range of NGP lexical items known even by those expatriates who have little knowledge of genuine NGP. They include:

NGP	Gloss
bikhet	*'proud, stubborn'*
bilum	*'stringbag'*
didiman	*'agricultural officer'*
gumi	*'rubber, tube of a tyre'*
kaikai, kai	*'food'*
kiap	*'patrol officer'*
laplap	*'loincloth'*
longlong	*'foolish'*
meri	*'woman, girl'*

To this list could be added items such as save *'to know'* and the universal nambaten *'very bad'* which is hardly used by speakers other than Europeans.

Since NGP is regarded by many speakers of Tok Masta as a corruption of English rather than a language in its own right, lexical information

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[1] A good example is the kitchen terminology used in two cookery books (Levi 1964 and Lilke 1969) as well as a list of household and cooking terms in Balint's dictionary (1969). The terms listed in these three publications differ substantially from the standard terms used by Papua New Guineans such as listed in Mihalic's dictionary (1971: 356-62).

at all levels is generally regarded as being the same as in English etymons. Thus, pronunciation follows the English model, and the semantic content of NGP items is interpreted as being that of English. It is the latter fact which has resulted in numerous misunderstandings and racial friction. Hall (1955:18-19) reports the following incident:

> I was in a certain New Guinea hotel, and witnessed the following scene between the assistant manageress (recently arrived from Australia) and a Papuan house-boy. She had not seen him all afternoon, and thought that he had only just come in, so she began to scold him:
>
> Manageress: Why you no come this afternoon? [one would never say "why" in Pidgin, but *bilong wonem?* Still, the house-boy got her drift, and answered:]
>
> House-Boy: *No, misis, mi kam long belo kaikai* ("On the contrary, madam, I came at noon.") [Belo kaikai is a phrase meaning "the bell for food"; originally a term used on the labour lines in copra plantations, it has now become the general expression in Pidgin for "noontime".]
>
> Manageress: Belly kaikai! That's all you niggers ever think of, is filling your bellies with kaikai.
>
> House-Boy: *Tasol misis, mi stap long haus kuk* ("But madam, I was in the kitchen.") [*Haus kuk* is a phrase of the same structure as *belo kaikai*, with two nouns, the second telling some characteristic or purpose of the first; it means "room for cooking", and therefore "kitchen".]
>
> Manageress: Nonsense! You're not the cook of this house.

A number of other misinterpretations commonly made by Tok Masta speakers are:[1]

NGP item	Interpreted as	Instead of
ating	*'I think'*	*'perhaps, I am not sure'*
pusim	*'to push'*	*'to have sexual relations'*
pulim	*'to pull'*	*'to force, entice'*
baksait	*'backside'*	*'back'*
konyak	*'cognac'*	*'kava'*
kilim	*'to kill'*	*'to hit'*
bokis	*'box'*	*'female genitals'*
teksi	*'taxi'*	*'small passenger vehicle (private or public)'*

Apart from a poor knowledge of the lexical inventory of NGP, Tok Masta speakers also exhibit a general ignorance about the semantic organisation of the lexicon and word formation processes. An area of the lexicon which causes much misunderstanding between expatriates and Papua New Guineans is that of conventions about the interpretation of a number of verbs. In contrast with English, NGP verbs are typically neutral with regard to the aspects of completion versus non-completion[2] and volition

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[1] Other examples have been listed by Murphy (1973:57).

[2] Thus Mead (1931:148) remarks: "The native tendency to use the same word, adding in one case an element meaning completed action, when we should use two different verbs, is also very puzzling to the novice."

versus non-volition. A failure to recognise this principle of NGP semantics will lead to potential misinterpretation of:

painim	*'to look for, find'*	as	*'to find'*	only
stil	*'to be hidden, to steal'*	as	*'to steal'*	only
giaman	*'to be mistaken, deceive'*	as	*'to deceive'*	only
dai	*'to be unconscious, to die'*	as	*'to die'*	only

The author believes that Murphy's remarks on the item giaman (Murphy 1973:47) that "Natives generally and traditionally have quite different ideas about truth to what we have. It is not a very valuable commodity with them and its absence is not always malicious" is an ethnocentric statement which ignores the fact that NGP has grammatical means of distinguishing *'to be mistaken'* from *'to deliberately deceive'* if ambiguity should arise.

The poor knowledge of the lexical inventory of NGP by speakers of Tok Masta is paired with, at best, a superficial understanding of the various word-formation processes of NGP as spoken by the majority of Papua New Guineans. Derivation by functional shift and compounding has been found to be restricted to those instances where NGP and English patterns coincide. The use of reduplication for the formation of new lexical items, as are other means of stylistic variation, is virtually absent in this sociolect, the only reduplicated forms used being lexicalised ones such as kaikai *'to eat'* or puspus *'to have sexual intercourse'*. This observation could support the view that the various programs of lexical iteration in NGP are not a consequence of the use of baby-talk English in the original contact situation, but later developments from other sources, in particular substratum influences and internal developments. With regard to compounding, a common feature of Tok Masta is the use of English word-level compounds where NGP usually employs phrase-level constructions, and it seems likely that the gradual change from higher to lower level lexical items in NGP was stimulated by Tok Masta.

Insufficient knowledge of the lexical potential of NGP not only results in the replacement of established NGP words with loans from English but also explains some of the circumlocutions found in Tok Masta. Some examples are:

Tok Masta	Gloss
bikpela pusi bilong Africa	*'lion'*
trausis bilong leta	*'envelope'*
but bilong hos	*'horseshoe'*
lam bllong Jisas	*'moon'*

These and many similar circumlocutions are easily identified as European fabrications, not only because they contain such non-NGP items as **leta** *'letter'* instead of NGP **pas**, or **but** *'boot'* instead of **su** *'shoe, boot'*, but also because of their cultural bias.

Considering all these facts, it seems fair to say that the lexical properties of Tok Masta are only a very imperfect approximation to the lexicon of NGP proper, and that Tok Masta speakers typically are unaware of both the semantic and derivational properties of ordinary NGP. Because of the high status of Tok Masta speakers in the past, some of its properties have gradually become part of standard NGP. However, present-day Tok Masta no longer enjoys this prestige and is definitely on the way out.

4.8.2.2. Bush Pidgin

Just as Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin is the name for a collection of unstable idiolects rather than a substandard or basilectal variety of NGP. Variations can be found at all levels of grammar. It is not clear at present to what extent they reflect a speaker's first language and to what extent they reflect universal implicationally-ordered interlanguage grammar. For the time being the discussion will be restricted to some typical properties of the Bush Pidgin lexicon. In contrast with Tok Masta speakers, who are often content with their brand of bastardised NGP, Bush Pidgin speakers usually make efforts to improve their linguistic performance and to approximate to the socially more accepted forms of NGP, in particular Rural Pidgin. Thus, the nature of the lexicon of Bush Pidgin is that of an approximative continuum with the norms of Rural Pidgin as an endpoint.

The main properties of the lexicon of Bush Pidgin are: i) its reduction in size, meaning that many items are simply not known, ii) distortion of lexical information at all levels, and iii) great reduction in lexical productivity. Whilst changes i) and iii) are the result of imperfect knowledge of the inventory and system of Rural Pidgin, change ii) also reflects substratum influence.

The reduction in size usually means that speakers of Bush Pidgin can communicate in this language only over a very small range of topics. For the discussion of other topics loans from their own vernacular are often introduced, or else circumlocution is employed. The texts given by Laycock (1970a:57 and 59) contain examples of both mechanisms. In addition, the use of pointing, facial expressions and other para-linguistic means of communication is much more pronounced than in other second-language varieties of NGP.

The imperfect knowledge of the lexical information contained in lexical items of standard NGP manifests itself in poor understanding of standard NGP and poor intelligibility of Bush Pidgin from the point of view of fluent second-language or first-language speakers of NGP.

A case study of changes in phonological information in Bush Pidgin is that by Bee (1972:69-96) among NGP speakers having Usarufa, a language spoken near Kainantu in the Highlands, as their first language. The great differences in the phonological systems of NGP and Usarufa are reflected in the following list of consonant correspondences (from Bee 1972:73):

NGP	Usarufa
/p/, /b/, /f/, /v/	/b/
/p/ (medial)	/qb/
/t/, /d/, /s/, /š/, /z/, /tš/, /dž/	/t/
/l/, /r/	/r/
/k/, /g/	/g/
/k/ (medial)	/qk/
/m/, /n/, /w/, /y/	/m/, /n/, /w/, /y/ respectively
/h/, /ŋ/	no correspondence

In addition, consonant clusters are either reduced to single consonants or split by means of epenthetic vowels. The reinterpretation of NGP phonology as a result of Usarufa substratum influence results in many forms which are misinterpreted by speakers of standard Rural Pidgin, as well as misunderstanding of Rural Pidgin by Usarufa speakers. Some instances are:

NGP		Interpreted as	
rip	*'reef'*	lip	*'leaf, lip'*
kros	*'anger'*	klos	*'clothes'*
rait	*'to write'*	lait	*'light'*
stik	*'stick'*	sik	*'sick, ill'*
plak	*'flag'*	plank	*'plank'*
bladi	*'bloody'*	planti	*'plenty, many'*
kalis	*'chalice'*	gris	*'grease'*

Whilst many of the misinterpretations observed can be explained in terms of systematic correspondences between sounds, other changes cannot be explained in terms of a contrastive analysis and may reflect certain natural tendencies in the acquisition of a second-language sound system. Thus Bee (1972:83) lists, among others, the following examples:

NGP		Interpreted as	
pinis	*'finish'*	pisin	*'bird'*
pasin	*'manner, way'*	banis	*'fence'*
skru	*'knee'*	skul	*'school'*
natink	*'perhaps'*	nait	*'night'*
kompas	*'compass'*	*kom pas	*'fasten comb'*
misa	*'mass'*	*mi sa	*'I saw'*
skrudraiva	*'screwdriver'*	skul draiva	*'school driver'*
gumi	*'rubber'*	yu mi	*'us'*
yu ministran	*'are you an alter boy'*	*yu mi nus ran	*'our noses are running'*
plet simen	*'porcelain plate'*	*ples sem man	*'shameful man'*

A phenomenon not recorded by Bee, but observed by the author in a number of varieties of Bush Pidgin, is the reinterpretation of polysyllabic lexical items of standard Rural Pidgin as reduplications, a fact which was also observed in NGP's diachronic development. Some examples recorded by the author are:

Rural Pidgin	Bush Pidgin	Gloss
mekanik	mekmek	*'mechanic'*
amamas	hamashamas	*'to rejoice'*
bisnis	mismis	*'business, relation'*
teritori	toritori	*'territory'*
anian	aniani	*'onion'*

The reinterpretation of other polysyllabic words as compounds or semi-compounds reflects the learner's need for morphological transparency. In addition to the examples noted by Bee, the following ones were found by the author:

Rural Pidgin	Bush Pidgin	Gloss
dispenseri	haus penseri	*'dispensary'*
hospitel	haus pitel[1]	*'hospital'*
sumatin	skul matin	*'student'*
matakiau	masta kiau	*'one-eyed'*

The syntactic information contained in lexical bases of NGP again shows interference both from substratum languages and from overgeneralisation as a result of imperfect learning of stable NGP. Though no comprehensive study of the respective influences on the syntactic properties of NGP lexical bases has been made to date, the author has made a number of preliminary observations. One such observation is that the position of the adjective as either preceding or following the nominals

[1] This form is also documented for New Hebridean Bichelamar.

it qualifies and the restriction that only some adjectives can appear in attributive position is frequently different in Bush Pidgin. Thus, the author has observed speakers who consistently use the adjective after the nominal as in meri gutpela *'a good girl'*, akis tripela *'three axes'*, reflecting, as was confirmed, the order of elements in the speaker's first language.

Equally frequent is the change in categorial information, i.e. the use of certain lexical items in grammatical functions which they do not perform in ordinary NGP. The following text, recorded from an informant from Wofneri near Amanab in the West Sepik Province, illustrates this point (the translation is partly based on guesses since the speaker's knowledge of NGP was very poor).

Katim diwai tu olsem HAMBAK[i] tumas hambak tumas HAMAS HAMAS[ii]
'to cut trees too is a great nuisance very difficult how often like

olsem bipo nogat olsem [iii] tumbuna hia bipo nogat olsem
this before not our ancestors before not like this

skin kambang tu mipela SKIN KAMBANG[iv] man na orait, pikinini ol i
penis gourd too we had penis gourds men and, well, children they put

putim nabaut orait PULPULIM[v] nabaut hia pasim meri orait man i putim
them on, well, the women wore grass skirts, well, the men wore

skin kambang SKIN[vi] nau ol i singsing nau masta i kam
penis gourds they wore penis gourds they are dancing now the Europeans

na pasim laplap nabaut bipo nogat olsem tasol orait mipela
come and put on loin cloths before not like this only well we

katim bunara mipela sapim pinis olsem ston bilong ston tasol
cut a bow we finished cutting it with a stone of a stone only

sapim bunara nau STON PINIS[vii] orait sapim nau.
we are carving the bow the action involving a stone being carried out we carve the bow.'

Remarks: i) hambak qualified with adverb tumas used as adjective; normal use as intransitive verb *'to humbug'*; possibly a misinterpretation of hatwok *'hard work'*; ii) hamas hamas possibly meaning hamamas *'to be glad'*; iii) mipela should possibly read bilong mipela *'ours'*; iv) skin kambang, nominal compound used as adjective, a very frequent phenomenon in the text spoken by this informant; v) pulpulim, noun referring to garment used as transitive verb, ordinary NGP would use ol i pasim pulpul nabaut long meri or meri i pasim pulpul nabaut; vi) skin nau, standard NGP repeats the predicate but not the object for connecting sentences in

discourse, thus putim nau or putim skin nau; vii) ston pinis, instrumental noun used with aspect marker of completion; standard NGP does not derive instrumental verbals from nouns referring to instruments used for cutting or carving; standard Pidgin would also require the transitivity marker -im with the denominalised instrumental verbal item.

Little is known about the ways in which the semantic information of lexical items of Bush Pidgin differs from that of fluent second-language and first-language NGP, since an analysis of this aspect of lexical semantics presupposes an intimate knowledge of the vernacular of Bush Pidgin speakers. The only study to hand is that by McElhanon and Barok on idioms in Selepet and NGP. It demonstrates that idiomatic expressions, particularly those involving personal and emotional feelings, are often misunderstood and misemployed as a result of transliteralisation:

> If the literalisation of a Pidgin idiom is the same as the literalisation of a Selepet idiom expressing a different semantic unit, then the Selepet semantic unit replaces the intended Pidgin semantic unit. Thus, bel bilong em i hevi *'he is troubled, weary of something'* is understood by Selepet speakers as *'he is selfish'* (*'his belly is heavy'*). Similarly, the Pidgin idiom em i tanim bel *'he changed his mind, repented'* is equated with the Selepet idiom (78) (*'his belly turned'*) *'he is nauseated'*. The command tanim bel! is largely meaningless since one doesn't usually command someone to become nauseated.
>
> (McElhanon and Barok 1975:196)

The writers continue to point out that (ibid.):

> In general, it appears that non-idioms are easier to transfer than are idioms. The Selepet idiom (*'I tie it with my neck'*) *'I am awaiting further word'* was transferred to the Pidgin mi gat tubel, which in turn was transferred back into Selepet as *'I think and it becomes two'*. This last expression was again transferred into Pidgin as mi tingim yet which more adequately renders the original Selepet idiom (*'I tied it up with my neck'*).

It is to be hoped, however, that those working on vernaculars of Papua New Guinea will pay more attention in future to the problem of interference of vernacular semantics with that of NGP.

Again, no systematic observations about the formation of lexical items in the various varieties of Bush Pidgin are available. However, one can expect a continuum of varieties ranging from those in which the lexicon is an instructured list to others which contain some of the devices of lexical derivation found in Rural Pidgin.

4.8.2.3. Sociolectal Differences in the Lexicon: Summary

The various social varieties of NGP are distinguished with regard to their lexical properties in a number of important ways, these differences being such that communication across sociolectal boundaries is not always

easy to attain. Among the factors accounting for sociolectal differences in the lexicon are:

i) The degree of familiarity with 'standard' Rural Pidgin

A knowledge of the central variety is particularly poor among speakers of Tok Masta, followed by those of Bush Pidgin. Speakers of Urban Pidgin are very often aware of the appropriate items in Rural Pidgin but prefer to use items borrowed from English.

ii) The speaker's knowledge of English

Since most Tok Masta speakers are native speakers of English, their interpretation of NGP lexical items is heavily influenced by lexical information found with cognate English items. This tendency is also strong among speakers of Urban Pidgin, though their familiarity with Rural Pidgin and their less complete knowledge of the lexicon of English means that many new loans and much lexical restructuring still reflect the lexical organisation of NGP rather than English.

iii) The speaker's attitudes towards NGP

Whilst the knowledge of English and Rural Pidgin largely determines the range of NGP varieties understood by an individual, the form of speech he uses often depends on whether he recognises NGP as a linguistically separate system with widely accepted norms. Tok Masta developed because its speakers regarded NGP as a simplified and bastardised form of English, and much the same attitudes underlie many of the linguistic changes which can be observed in Urban Pidgin. With NGP gaining respectability and becoming associated with the national aspirations of many Papua New Guineans, the increased prestige of 'good' Rural Pidgin may result in a reversal of the trends which have so far led to an increasing anglicisation of NGP's lexicon.

4.8.3. *REGIONALLY DETERMINED VARIATION IN THE NGP LEXICON*

4.8.3.1. Introduction

At this stage no detailed account of regionally determined variation in the NGP lexicon is available and the observations made here are only preliminary to such a study. The author's impressions, which were confirmed in many informal conversations about this problem with informants in various parts of Papua New Guinea, are:

i) Regional variation in the lexicon is relatively unimportant, since NGP's principal function as an inter-regional lingua franca would be impeded by the presence of strong regional differences.

ii) Regional variation is tolerated as long as misunderstandings are not likely to arise from it. Thus, the phonological information of lexical items of Rural Pidgin may vary within certain limits, variation such as that between [l] and [r] or [p] and [f] being tolerated, whilst other variations in pronunciation, such as was found at earlier stages of NGP's development (e.g. that between [s] and [t]), are no longer accepted.

iii) The use of different lexical items in different regions is restricted mainly to those areas of meaning less likely to be discussed in inter-regional contacts, i.e. to lexical items of low frequency. Examples are the terms for *'navel'*, for which a large number of lexical items were recorded in different parts of Papua New Guinea (bitono, butoma, hap bel, rop bilong bel, as bilong snek, etc.), or *'pandanus'* (aran, pandanus, karuka).[1]

iv) Regional variation is found with some lexical innovations[2] referring to recently introduced items of European origin, for instance, *'brassiere'* (kalabus bilong susu, banis susu, kep susu, masel bilong susu) or *'helicopter'* (bunbalus, glasbalus, balus as bilongen no gat mit).

v) The influence of different language policies and the previous use of other lingue franche is reflected most strongly in the vocabulary of older speakers.

vi) Many speakers have at least a passive knowledge of synonyms conditioned by geographic factors.

vii) Regional differences appear to manifest themselves primarily in differences with regard to the inventory of lexical items and some differences in lexical information found with individual items. Though there is evidence that semantic field properties may differ from region to region (e.g. kinship terminology in patrilineal and matrilineal areas), no study of this has been made. The author has found that the regularities underlying the formation of new lexical items are basically the same throughout the country.

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[1] In some areas the forms aran and karuka are used to refer to different kinds of pandanus.

[2] With regard to such innovations, Reed (1943:284) remarks:

> With variations appearing constantly in different parts of the Territory, it is obvious that no individual can keep abreast of its total evolution, let alone to know what variations will gain wide enough acceptance to become integral parts of the speech.

The main division of NGP into regional areas is that into **Highlands, Coastal Mainland** and **New Guinea Islands** Pidgin. This distinction, made by most speakers of Rural Pidgin, appears to reflect the fact that NGP reached these three areas at different points in time, i.e. in the 1880s for the Islands, around 1900 for the New Guinea Mainland and about 1940 for the Highlands.

4.8.3.2. Some Data

The author will now consider some lexical items which are restricted to certain regional dialects of NGP. A first group are items which refer to locally restricted aspects of culture. A number of examples have already been mentioned in subsection 4.4.2.2., particularly lexical bases borrowed from local languages. However, regionally restricted items may also be formed from NGP's internal resources, as demonstrated by the following items used mainly in the New Guinea Highlands or by Highlanders. However, with Highlanders coming to the coast in large numbers and with increased contacts between Highlanders and Lowlanders, these items are gradually becoming known throughout Papua New Guinea.

Highlands Pidgin	Gloss
karim lek	*'form of courting involving the mutual touching of legs or putting one's legs under the partner's legs'*
dabol seven	*'form of courting; partners touch each other's head and bend down forty-nine times'*
kukim nus	*'to rub noses'*
givim nuspes long	*'to make a gift or have a feast, to remember someone'*
manistik	*'a pole to which paper money is tacked, used in paying the brideprice'*
haus kol	*'house with no fireplace'*
haus pik	*'house for humans and pigs'*

Some other differences in the lexicon can be accounted for in terms of the previous or contemporary presence of other lingue franche. Thus, on the New Guinea mainland around the formerly Malay-speaking plantation areas and in the border areas of the West Sepik Province, a number of Malay words can still be heard, particularly among middle-aged and old speakers. Thus Townsend (1968:54) reports, speaking about his experience in Aitape:

> In Rabaul a native foreman was spoken of as a boss-boy, at Aitape the Malay word mandor was used. This was the original word used in German times when Malays - chiefly Amboinese - were employed as foremen ....
> Bello, the striking of a bell or gong to mark the meal and other significant hours on a station, was at Aitape known as tandok, and also with many other terms Malay or German was used.

Whilst regional differences in lexical inventory due to Malay and German influences have gradually disappeared over the years since World War II, there are signs that NGP in the Port Moresby area has acquired a number of loans from Hiri Motu, the local lingua franca. Thus Bell (1977) writes: "Loanwords may not necessarily be English derived. With most of the Army stationed at Port Moresby it is not surprising that the Motu magani has displaced sikau as the word for wallaby." Borrowing of Hiri Motu words is becoming increasingly common in the Port Moresby area, this being a result of the increasing NGP/Hiri Motu bilingualism of many migrant workers in the area.

For the rest, very little is known about geographic differences in NGP vocabulary. The following is a tentative list of some lexical items which the author has found to be diagnostic of regional differences:

Islands Pidgin	Highlands Pidgin	Lowlands Pidgin	Gloss
taunam	taunam	klambu	*'mosquito net'*[1]
raring	pre	beten	*'to pray'*
kilamo	ai	tuptup	*'lid'*
laka?	a?	a?	{question tag n'est-ce pas?
galip	pinat	kasang	*'peanut'*[2]
aran	karuka	aran	*'pandanus'*

Some differences in lexical information may be added to this list:

i) The treatment of indirect objects after verbs such as givim and soim differs in Islands Pidgin:

Islands Pidgin	Other varieties of NGP	Gloss
mi givim yu long buk	mi givim buk long yu	*'I gave you the book'*
mi soim yu long buk	mi soim buk long yu	*'I showed you the book'*

ii) Another difference between Islands Pidgin and the other varieties is the use of the preposition long after transitive verbs ending in -im as in:

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[1]Healey (n.d.:213), on the other hand, reports that "kalambo is the word for mosquito net in the Islands, but the mainland people prefer taunam." This appears to be an error, however. Klambu is not listed in the dictionaries representing Islands Pidgin (Borchardt 1926 and Dahmen 1957). Taunam on the other hand, is documented for Islands Pidgin from the mid 1920s. Since klambu is of Malay origin, its status as a mainland item is beyond doubt.

[2]The item galip is known in the New Guinea Lowlands. However, there it refers to a specific variety of nut growing on a tree, not unlike a brazil nut.

Islands Pidgin	Other varieties of NGP	Gloss
mi pilaiim rekot ol i kolim long ...	mi pilaim rekot ol i kolim ...	*'I will play a record called ...'*
ol i laikim tumas long mani	ol i laikim tumas mani	*'they really like money'*
dispela tumbuna stori yu rabisim longen	dispela tumbuna stori yu rabisim em	*'this ancestor story which you ridiculed'*

iii) A number of differences in semantic information of Islands versus other varieties were also found:

Islands Pidgin		Other varieties of NGP	
aismalang	*'foreigner'*	aismalang	*'homosexual'*
pulpul	*'flower, grass skirt'*	pulpul	*'grass skirt'*

However, at this stage, very little is known about the geographic distribution of lexical items in NGP, apart from that of planned mission terminologies which has been discussed in subsection 4.4.2.2. It is hoped, however, that with a better knowledge of NGP, linguists will pay more attention to the question of geographical variation, not only with regard to NGP's lexical properties but also with regard to sentence and discourse syntax.

4.8.4. *STYLISTIC VARIATION IN THE NGP LEXICON*

4.8.4.1. Introduction

Among those areas of grammar which characterise NGP as a fully-fledged and flexible means of verbal expression, that of stylistic choice in the lexicon is of particular importance.[1] NGP differs from most other pidgins not only in that it has an extensive and productive component for the formation of new lexical items, but also in that the mechanism is used in coining numerous new expressions which increase NGP's referential adequacy and add to its stylistic flexibility. In contrast to the cumbersome and monotonous NGP spoken some decades ago,[2] present-day NGP, particularly

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[1] As has been pointed out by Samarin (1971:122) most pidgins are impoverished with regard to their stylistic devices:

> This is to say that a speaker of a pidgin, as a *normal* human being in a normal society, can be expected to have more than one code-variety for different uses. The pidgin, on the other hand, is not normal, and when a person is speaking a pidgin he is limited to the use of a code with but one level or style or key or register, to cite some terms used for this aspect of the organization of language. (One might speak here of a 'monostratic', 'monoclaval' or 'monotonic' code.) In other words, he does not have the rich variety of language styles from which to choose whatever is appropriate to the context, situation, or person (or people) to whom he is talking.

[2] cf. Mead's remarks (1931:149): "To the unaccustomed ear, pidgin has a terrific monotony because of the constant repetition of three words, belong, along, and fellow."

among those groups who use it as their principal language, has many idiomatic expressions, picturesque speech and a high degree of lexical choice.

The distinction between levels of style on the one hand and sociolects on the other is not always easy to make. Thus, Tok Masta, the imperfect NGP spoken by many Europeans, may be used by New Guineans in order to convey a special effect (such as depicting colonialist attitudes) or to communicate with speakers of Tok Masta. Again, the use of Bush Pidgin by a speaker of Rural or Urban Pidgin may be motivated by the desire for communication with Bush Pidgin speakers or to convey the idea of backwardness and a hillbilly mentality.

The full extent of NGP's stylistic potential is difficult to determine, and access to many of its stylistic resources is still restricted to relatively small groups of speakers. In the present section, the author wants to concentrate mainly on the kind of NGP used in the culturally mixed communities in the towns and on the plantations, in particular the use of special lexical devices in lively conversations where the participants are engaged in **tok pilai** *'playing with the language'*.

4.8.4.2. Tok Piksa

This subsection is concerned with observations on lexical choice in a number of semantic areas which figure in urban life, particularly in conversations about work and leisure in the urban context. Brash (1975: 323) has pointed out that:

> Evidence of the operation of ethnogenesis within Papua New Guinea cities can be found in the growing number of original Pidgin expressions covering the shared experience of their black inhabitants. These range from descriptive terms referring to town occupations, the shortage of money, to sport, beer drinking, brawling, sexual adventure, card playing, the police, to whites, and so on, together with more complex terms which recognise the effects of city life on the individual.

The author will now present data collected in connection with several of these activities:

i) drinking

With alcoholic liquor having become legally available to the indigenous population of Papua New Guinea in 1962, and hotels becoming important social centres in rural as well as urban areas, a need arose for new names in connection with drinking, replacing the previously used **longlong** meaning *'strong drink'* or *'to be drunk'*. The lexical item now commonly used is **spak**, meaning either *'to be tipsy, inebriated, drunk'* or *'alcoholic liquor of any description'*. This lexical item "seems to have been derived from the English word 'spark' or 'spark-up'

meaning 'bright' or 'lively'" (Brash 1971:19). Healey (1975:39) argues that "it is interesting to note that the word spak became necessary when Papuans and New Guineans, who now have access to alcohol, required a more polite word than drunk to describe their own inebriation or that of their fellows." The verb base spak has served not only for the derivation of the nominal item spak *'strong drink'* but also for the formation of the compounds tuglasspak *'two glass roarer'* (see Brash 1971:19), spakpasin *'drunkenness'* and spakman *'a habitually inebriated person'* or *'someone of voluble behaviour, such as a political radical'* (cf. Brash 1971:19).

Abstention from drink is often referred to by the denominalised verbals misinari or buskanaka, as in mi misinari (buskanaka) long dring *'I don't drink'*.

The activity of drinking itself is described by a number of verbal lexical items such as botomapim *'bottoms up'*, kapsaitim *'to drink hurriedly'*, dring paia *'to drink fire, alcoholic spirits'*. Tok bokis terms are probably a reflection of the times when drinking was unlawful and thus discussed in a way which was not intelligible to the white kiap or police officers; nothing in the expressions mekim paia long kunai, kukim kunai *'to burn the kunai grass'* or kukim pitpit *'to burn sugarcane'* indicates that they refer to the consumption of alcoholic liquor.

The names for the various drinks include bia *'beer, any kind of liquor'*, meri buka *'Negrito Rum, so called because of the black (buka) girl on the label'*, and a number of figurative expressions such as liklik kolwara *'little cold water = beer'*, spesel mailo *'special Milo = beer'* or wara *'water = beer'* which play down the dangers of drinking. Names are also derived from the different colours of the bottles in which beer is sold such as grinpela man or grin *'beer in a green bottle'* and braunpela man or braun *'beer in a brown bottle'*.[1]

ii) sexual adventure

Terms referring to sexual activities are very numerous; most of them fall into the category of tok piksa, i.e. the sexual parts or various sexual activities are compared with other items or activities, as in:

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[1]The traditional means of becoming 'high', betelnut, is often referred to as bia bilong kanaka *'the beer of the native'*, reminiscent of the expression Samoa wiski *'Samoan whisky = kava'* used by the plantation workers on Samoa. In NGP *'kava'* is called konyak.

Ordinary Term in NGP	Metaphorical Terms
kok *'penis'*	pam *'pump'*, kela *'the bald one'*, stik *'stick'*, ki *'key'*, pensil *'pencil'*, maik *'microphone'*
kan *'female genitals'*	piksa *'picture'*, hul wara *'water hole'*, maus bilong baret *'the mouth of the ditch'*, maus gras *'moustache'*, kina *'clam, mussel'*, kramsel *'clam'*
susu *'female breasts'*	popo *'pawpaw'*, pilo *'pillow'*
kokeru *'clitoris'*	tomato *'tomato'*

The sex act itself is described by a number of expressions such as:

Ordinary Terms	Metaphorical Terms
puspus, pilai *'to have sexual intercourse'*	planim tapiok *'to plant cassava'*, popela lek i bung wantaim *'four legs are meeting'*, putim ki long lok *'to put the key in the lock'*
pakim as *'to have anal intercourse'*	sutim as *'to give an injection in the posterior'*, bihainim bun bilong baksait *'follow the backbone'*[1]
kapsaitim melek *'to ejaculate'*	kok i laik kus *'the penis is about to cough'*, wara i kapsait pinis *'the water is spilt'*
hambak, pilai nogut *'to have premarital sex'*	katim kona *'to cut the corner'*

Other terms used in the description of sexual adventures describe the various ways in which someone invites someone else and is either accepted or refused. The following terms were listed in a letter by a school teacher from Karkar Island to Fr F. Mihalic:

> 'If a woman wants to seduce a man and he's reluctant she'll blame him by saying: bol bilong yu i wara nating, yu nogat bun, kok bilong yu i malmalum, yu malmalum; ... If a woman is wearing glasses or holding a drinking glass and you wish to be intimate, then you say: mi inap long baim dispela glas bilong yu o nogat? If not agreeable she'll say: yu no inap/yu lus. If agreeable, she'll say: (Sapos) yu gat inap mani yu ken baim.[2]

A number of lexical items refer to different categories or partners, for instance:

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[1] *'To have anal intercourse'* is also referred to by the denominalised verbals hatbisket or draibisket, from the tok bokis expressions hatbisket, draibisket *'anus'*.

[2] A literal translation of these examples is: *'your balls are just water, you have no bone, your cock is soft, you are soft'; 'can I pay for this glass of yours or not?'; 'No, you can't/get lost'; 'If you have enough money you can pay for it'.*

NGP	Literal Meaning	Metaphorical Meaning
salat	*stinging nettle*	*'unattractive woman'*
misinari	*missionary*	*'impotent or celibate male'*
sak meri	*shark girl*	*'expensive prostitute'*
hul wara	*water hole*	*'common prostitute'*
pipia	*rubbish*	*'common prostitute'*
laplap	*piece of cloth*	*'common prostitute'*
wanpulpul	*sharing the same grass skirt*	*'someone sharing the same woman'*
draibisket	*dry biscuit*	*'dried up, unattractive woman'*

The use of these and similar metaphors occurs in the context of light conversations and making remarks at passers-by, with fluent speakers of NGP often inventing *ad hoc* metaphors. An example is given by Murphy (1973:28):[1] "Oh nainsi, mi dai long yu yet! This was called out from a group at a passing Beau Brummel. Literally it is an expression of love and desire for a young lady, but here it means - 'Oh you big poofter, I could go for you!'."

iii) brawling

The semantic field of brawling includes a number of insults, terms used in encouraging the fighting parties, and finally some descriptive terms for the fight and its results. Many of these terms are extensions, often metaphorical, of common NGP expressions; others illustrate how its derivational lexicon is put to yet another creative use.

The semantic field of insults includes:

NGP	Literal Translation	Approximate Equivalent
dok i karim yu	*a dog gave birth to you*	*'son of a bitch'*
pik i karim yu	*a pig gave birth to you*	*'son of a pig'*
pekpekman	*faeces man*	*'turd, shitface'*
manua	*man-of-war*	*'fat slob'*
pislama	*sea slug*	*'sluggard'*
smelbek	*smell bag*	*'stinking bastard'*
baket pipia	*dustbin*	*'filthy swine'*
buskanaka	*bush kanaka'*	*'hairy galoot, hillbilly'*
grisman	*grease man*	*'bullshitter, crawler'*
grisbataman	*grease and butter man*	*'bullshitter'*
pasindia	*passenger*	*'free-loader, sponger'*

The activities connected with brawling are described by terms such as:

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[1] Another, much more complex example can be found in Healey's course materials (n.d.: 123).

NGP	Literal Translation	Approximate Equivalent
hamarim	*to hammer*	*'to give a thorough beating'*
tokhamarim	*to talk hammer*	*'to verbally assault'*
kaisim	*to "left"*	*'to hit with the left arm or leg'*
mekim save	*to make know*	*'to punish, beat severely'*
givim!	*give*	*'give it to him!'*
givim paip ya!	*give the five here*	*'hit him with the fist!'*
paitpaitim	-	*'to hit continuously'*
kukim	*to cook someone*	*'to defeat someone'*
anis bai kaikai yu	*the ant will bite you*	*'I may be small but I can cause a lot of pain'*
em i kaikai buai	*he chewed betelnut*	*'his mouth was full of blood'*
han bilong narapela i poromanim pes bilong narapela	*the one's hand joins the other's face*	*'they hit one another's face'*

The following extract from a description of a fight on a plantation told by William from Lumi illustrates how the stylistic resources of the NGP lexicon are exploited in a vivid description:[1]

> Nau bosboi i kam troimwe han long mi pastaim. Troimwe han long mi pastaim nau, em i tok: A, yu laikim dispela? (gesture showing fist) Mi kirap, mi givim wanpela, orait, na narapela brata ya, em i givim wanpela longen. Em i pulim na i sanap na mi tokim ol: Han i no nap long yumi, inap long yumi pinis. Orait, yumi kisim stik. Na ol lain ya, ol lain bilong mi wok long painim ol stik ya. Mi tasol mi go pulim wanpela hap mangas i stap long paiaman. I stap long paiaman nau, na dispela bosboi sanap i stap nau. Mi troimwe stik longen, troimwe stik longen, long sol bilongen ya. Em i pilim em, nambatu, em i holim stik bilong mi. Mipela i wok long pulim, pulim, pulim, em i strong, em i strong, i go go go nau, mi go wok long holim stik i go olsem. Mi go klostu longen nau, mi troimwe wanpela han longen nau, em i wok long sotwin olsem: a,a,a,a,a,. Mi troimwe wanpela han longen. Em i sotwin nogut tru ya, i pilim nau, orait. Na tupela boi ya. Em i lukim tupela pait wantaim masta. Masta kaikaiim buai stret. Orait, masta i laik mekim save long tupela liklik boi bilong mi ya ....
>
> Now, first the bossboy came and thrust his fist at me. He thrust his fist at me and said: "Hey, do you want this?" I got up, I gave him one, then another mate gave him one too. He pulled him up again and told them (= his mates): "Hands are not enough for us, for us to do the job properly, O.K., let's get sticks." And the group here, my group got busy looking for sticks. I alone went and got a piece of hibiscus timber which was next to the boy who looks after the copra dryer. I was next to him and this bossboy was standing there. I hit him with the stick, hit him with the stick on his shoulder. He felt it and on the second hit he took hold of my stick. We were busy pulling, pulling, pulling; he kept on and on, it lasted for a long time, and I also kept holding the stick. Then I went up to him, I thrust my fist at him, he was panting really hard: "A,a,a,a,a,a,." He felt it. Well, two boys here. He noticed that they were fighting with the European. The European had a mouthful of blood. Well, the European wanted to teach my two little boys a lesson ....

[1] Aufinger (1949:118) quotes a report of a fight in tok bokis. A comparison between these two stories should be of considerable interest.

The author will conclude this section with remarks on two expressions which originated in the context of cardplaying and gambling but which are now widely used metaphorically, outside their original context. First is the word **kas**

> derived from cards, which may now be applied not only to playing and gambling, but as a reference to good luck in any form of experience. Thus a student who passes his exams, or a garbage collector who finds a dollar bill, might both be congratulated by the expression **Kas bilong yu stret!** (Good luck to you).
>
> (Brash 1975:323)

The opposite idea of being out of luck, **em i blu pinis** *'he is blue'*, originates from a game involving the tossing of a match-box. If the blue side shows up, it means that the game is lost.

The study of what Brash (1971:12) has called the 'imaginative dimensions' in NGP has only just begun but it must be hoped that the work begun by Brash (1971 and 1975) will be followed up with further more detailed studies about the development of a stylistically highly versatile lexicon in both urban and rural contexts. It can be expected that the rapid increase in the number of native NGP speakers will be reflected in a further expansion of its stylistic flexibility.

4.8.4.3. Some Notes on Tok Bokis

In contrast to **tok piksa**, which is derived from ordinary NGP by means of certain general conventions about the metaphorical use of lexical items, the semantic properties of **tok bokis** items are much less susceptible to a description in terms of such conventions. Instead, semantic information from one lexical item is paired with the phonological information of another in an unpredictable way, or else new phonological information is substituted. **Tok bokis** is used either for taboo reasons (in which case knowledge about the lexical substitution involved is shared by most members of the NGP speaking community) or in secret varieties of NGP, known to small groups of initiated people only.

The taboo register of NGP is used principally in the contexts of speaking about death and certain bodily functions,[1] as in:

NGP	Literal Translation	Gloss
samting	*something*	*'genitals'*
mi go si/solwara	*I go to the sea*	*'I go for a pee'*
mi go rausim pipia	*I'll throw out the rubbish*	*'I'll defecate'*

[1] The examples listed here were collected in the East Sepik and Madang Provinces, but appear to be of much wider currency (cf. Aufinger 1949:117-19).

NGP	Literal Translation	Gloss
tupela i go bus	*the two went to the bush*	*'they went to have intercourse'*
tupela i mekim samting ya	*the two did something*	*'they made love'*
mi pinisim laik bilong mi	*I finished my intention*	*'I satisfied my sexual needs'*
saman wantaim kanu i no orait	*the canoe and the outrigger don't match*	*'they are unhappily married'*
paia bilong hauskuk indai pinis	*the fire in the kitchen has been extinguished*	*'my wife has died'*
pos bilong haus i bruk pinis	*the post of the house is broken*	*'my husband has died'*
longpela kokonas i pundaun pinis	*the long coconut tree fell down*	*'the chief of the village has died'*
muruk i kilim em	*a cassowary hit him*	*'he had an epileptic attack'*

A number of additional examples are given by Aufinger (1949:117ff.), including:

NGP	Literal Translation	Gloss
kiap, masta, maski	*never mind the patrol officer or European*	*'I have to go to the toilet presently'*
wanpela diwai i stap klostu long haus bilong yu i pundaun long graun	*a tree near your house has fallen and is lying on the ground*	*'someone near or dear to you has died'*

A special lexical process occasionally found with euphemisms is the technique of uttering words backwards, as in kepkep for pekpek *'to defecate'* and supsup for puspus *'have sexual intercourse'*.

By far the most extensive use of secret NGP was made in the various cargo movements. Two factors, the widespread belief that the missionaries lied about the 'true meaning' of many of their lexical innovations and the fact that "the natives actually, and quite frequently, impute secret meanings to pidgin words and sentences in the same, or a similar way, as they are accustomed to do with their own vernacular languages" (Aufinger 1949:117), are instrumental in the development of secret vocabularies. Thus Schwartz (1957:156ff.) discusses the development of new secret meanings for certain doctrinal terms in the Piliau movements of Manus Island, referring to the widespread belief that:

> The mission lied too about what is called Imperno and Purgatorio. The mission explained these in Neo-Melanesian as fire belong marsalai. Outside of the Neo-Melanesian literature of the missions, the word marsalai denotes malevolent spirits of the bush. The folklore of the old culture is peopled with these demons. They could cause the death of human beings. Missionaries had told their converts not to believe in marsalai, but they had also borrowed the word to translate the devils and the demons of Christianity. Paliau called this talk about fire belong marsalai a lie. Imperno was simply the ground in which one was buried when one dies. Christ was buried in the ground, then His think-think ascended to Heaven after three days. It is this way with all men. Your body went into the ground and your mind-soul went back to God. As for Purgatorio, another "fire" in which

men were supposed to pay for their minor sins after death, this was also a lie of the missionary. This Purgatorio is the house calaboose into which the government put people who had done some wrong. It was not a fire, it was not in Heaven, and it had nothing to do with marsalai. This was the mission's way of avoiding talking about the coercive power of the government.

Far-reaching reinterpretation was not restricted to doctrinal terms, however, and the list of expressions collected by Schwartz includes a number of other interesting examples:

Tok Bokis Expression	Ordinary Meaning	Special Meaning in Paliau Movement
orait	*'all right, healthy'*	*'to be equal to the white man in terms of knowledge, goods, etc.'*
kastem haus	*'customs house'*	*'a shed for receiving and handling goods in trade with other villages'*
King Berra	*'Canberra'*	*'mythical king of the land of cargo'*
mep	*'a map'*	*'graveyard'*
prais	*'price, prize'*	*'reward, cargo'*
star	*'star'*	*'turnstile in the village gate, having reference to heaven'*

The development of special vocabularies for varieties of NGP used by various cargo movements was and still is quite widespread. There are regional differences and rapid replacement of old secret terms with new ones within individual cargo movements, perhaps in order to prevent outsiders from getting to know about the cult language, perhaps because experimenting with word magic is involved. What is involved in most cases is a more or less drastic change in the meaning of certain lexical items, changes which may go unnoticed by the outsider who only understands the literal 'innocent' meaning.

Tok bokis lexical items most typically are normal NGP items with a different meaning, but innovations, which do not form a part of the ordinary NGP vocabulary, can also be found. Compare the items in the following list collected by the author from members of the Pele Association in the Yangoru-Dreikikir area:

Tok Bokis Expression	Ordinary Meaning (if any)	Special Meaning in Pele Movement
pele	-	*'eagle, hawk'*
gaten memore	*(memory garden)*	*'cemetery'*
paitim dis	*'to hit the dish'*	*'to put money on a plate and shake it so that the amount is multiplied'*
dis i klos	*'the dish is closed'*	*'it is Sunday, there are no cargo activities'*

Tok Bokis Expression	Ordinary Meaning (if any)	Special Meaning in Pele Movement
kandare	*'maternal uncle'*	*'someone who has died and will give money to the living'*
wok	*'work'*	*'the Pele Association'*
wokas	*(workers)*	*'male member of P.A.'*
plauas	*(flowers)*	*'female member of P.A.'*
man bilong wok	*'worker, hard worker'*	*'member of P.A.'*
rot bilong kandare i pas	*'the uncle's road is obstructed'*	*'the dead body fails to provide money'*

Elicitation of such items and verification of their exact meaning is very difficult[1] and the reliability of the above list cannot be guaranteed.

4.8.5. *SOCIAL, GEOGRAPHIC AND STYLISTIC VARIETIES OF NGP: SUMMARY*

The study of variation along the social, geographic and stylistic dimensions has only just reached the stage of systematic data gathering and a full understanding, let alone a well formulated sociolinguistic description, will not be achieved in the near future. Thus, the observations made in this section are of a preliminary nature, based mainly on the author's personal impressions and on the folk-classification of the various kinds of NGP spoken in present-day Papua New Guinea.

A first classification, based on an examination of the lexical properties of the different varieties of NGP suggests a distinction between:

i) four main sociolects: Tok Masta - Rural Pidgin - Urban Pidgin - Bush Pidgin

ii) three main regional dialects: Highlands Pidgin - Lowlands Pidgin - Islands Pidgin

iii) three main mechanisms for achieving certain stylistic effects: tok piksa (use of metaphors) - tok bokis (use of secret meanings or secret lexical items) - tok mainus (NGP backslang).

In addition to these varieties there are a number of others, particularly group languages such as student and highschool slang, a variety of NGP spoken by immigrant retskins on Buka and Bougainville,[2] church

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[1] An interesting linguistic documentation which contains a number of useful remarks on NGP as used in a cargo movement is given by Fischer (1966:49-97).

[2] This has been reported to the author by Mr Gabriel Kama, then head teacher of Yip Primary School in March 1974.

NGP and official NGP. Some of these varieties are discussed in an article by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1977). A better knowledge of variation in NGP is essential not only because of the desirability of having at hand an exhaustive linguistic description of this language, but also in view of the problems raised in connection with the standardisation of NGP. The author believes that standardisation cannot be meaningfully undertaken unless the potential of the language is fully understood and the extent of variations at all levels fully known.

Finally, it must be taken into account that NGP is still undergoing a process of vigorous growth and change. The study of its main variants as well as intraindividual variability may be helpful in providing some ideas about the directions in which NGP is developing.

CHAPTER 5

THE FORMATION OF LEXICAL ITEMS IN PRESENT-DAY RURAL PIDGIN

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present a detailed description of NGP's derivational lexicon, by providing an extensive set of lexical programs underlying the interpretation of already established lexical items as well as the generation of new ones. The description will be subdivided into three main subchapters, each dealing with one of the three principal types of lexical derivation, namely multifunctionality (MF), compounding (CP), and reduplication (RD). Each subchapter will be preceded by some notes on earlier research as well as a discussion of special descriptive problems of the kind which have not been considered in Chapter 2.

To briefly recapitulate the conclusions reached in Chapter 2, the principal characteristics of the descriptive framework are:

i) Though it is possible to relate derived lexical items to lexical bases in terms of certain quasi-transformational programs, the relation between basic and derived lexical material is not generative; derived lexical items are names whose meaning and range of application is determined by conventions and is not fully predictable.[1] The degree of predictability of derived lexical information differs from program to program.

ii) Because the derived structures are lexical it is necessary to list the full set of items which are accounted for by each program, whilst specifying what changes in semantic, categorial and phonological information can be predicted.

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[1] To express this, the arrow used in the formulation of the lexical programs goes in the direction opposite to that expected for a transformational rule. It reads as 'refers to' rather than 'becomes'. cf. also the remarks in section 2.6.2.

iii) The classification is based on semantic rather than formal properties of lexical items; thus, items of different size levels will appear with individual programs.

iv) The patterns described reflect the communal competence of speakers of Rural Pidgin.

The existing system of formation of lexical items in NGP is the result of a long period of linguistic expansion and the present description should be regarded as supplementary to the discussion of the diachronic development of lexical derivation (cf. Chapter 4).

5.2. THE THREE PRINCIPAL PROCESSES OF LEXICAL DERIVATION

The expansion of NGP's lexicon from internal resources has involved derivation by functional change (multifunctionality), compounding and reduplication. This subdivision is motivated by the fact that the lexical information contained in the lexical bases underlying the various types is changed in different ways and that the relation between derived lexical items and their syntactic paraphrases involves differing processes.[1] The principal differences can be described as follows:

i) Multifunctionality (derivation by functional change)

The **phonological information** of the lexical base is generally preserved, though some changes appear with a number of programs. These changes involve a) a variable loss of the adjective suffix **-pela** and the verb suffix **-im** as in **bikpela** *'big'* → **bikpela** or **bik** *'size'*, and **helpim** *'to help'* → **helpim** or **help** *'help, act of helping'*, and b) the appearance of intrusive [r] in certain cases, as in **resa** *'razor'* → **resaim** or **resarim** *'to shave'*.

The **categorial information** of the derived forms differs from that of the base forms, as in **buk** *'book'* (N) → **bukim** *'charge to someone's account'* (V). In a number of cases the categorial change affects the sub-categorial status of lexical items only, as in **nambis** *'beach'* (N_{-anim}) → **nambis** *'coastal dweller'* (N_{human}) (cf. subsection 4.3.3.4.).

The **semantic information** of functionally shifted lexical items can differ from that of related lexical bases in a number of ways. A distinction can be made between cases where a) no significant semantic change can be observed and where the functional change is dependent upon syntactic or stylistic factors, as in the case of the derivation

[1] The properties shared by, as well as the differences between, these processes have been discussed, for instance, by Žepić (1970:25-33) and Coseriu (1970:54ff.)

of abstract nominals from intransitive verb bases; b) regular semantic changes which can be described by reference to a related type of paraphrase, as with the derivation of transitive verbals with the meaning *'do s.th. with an instrument'* from noun bases referring to instruments, as in baira *'hoe'* → bairaim *'to hoe'*, brum *'broom'* → brumim *'to sweep'*; and c) semantic changes outside the system, often involving a knowledge of meanings other than referential meaning of the lexical base which appears in such derivations, for instance, bruder *'lay brother'* (N) → bruder *'to smoke a cigar'* (V) which requires the knowledge that cigar smoking is one of the typical attributes of German lay brothers.

Some changes of lexical information can be illustrated with the noun base bus *'bush, uncultivated areas outside village'* and its various derived lexical items:

Related paraphrase	Derived lexical item
man i stap long bus	bus *'bush dweller'*
sampela samting i olsem bus	bus *'scruffy, overgrown'*
go long bus	bus *'to go bush'*
ronim i go long bus	busim *'to chase into the bush'*

The application of lexical programs to individual word bases is determined by both linguistic restrictions (which account for systematic gaps) and lexical conventionalisation (which accounts for 'accidental' gaps).

ii) Compounding

The main difference between functional shift and compounding is that additional phonological information, such as is contained in related paraphrases, appears in the surface structure of derived lexical items. Thus, whilst both the compound klinpasin *'cleanliness'* and the functionally shifted item klin *'cleanliness'* are to be interpreted in terms of a paraphrase pasin bilong stap klin *'fashion of being clean'*, phonological information from more than one lexical base contained in this paraphrase appears in the surface structure of compounds. Compounding can also take place at size levels above the word, and both klinpasin with single main stress and pasin klin with two separate main stresses are found in NGP.

The categorial information of compounds is determined by the categorial status of its related paraphrase and not by their surface structure. Thus, both tanimtok *'translator'* and stilman *'thief'* are related to the paraphrases man i save tanim tok *'the man translates the talk'* and man i save stil *'the man steals'* and therefore contain the categorial information (N_{human}). The traditional distinction between exocentric

and endocentric compounds[1] reflects differences in the kind of lexical material deleted in the compounds when compared with related paraphrases.

The **semantic information** contained in compounds is in most cases more than a mere addition of the meanings of its components, with the exception of certain additive compounds such as **susoken** *'shoes and socks'* (cf. CP Program 1). It can be recovered partly by referring to the meaning of related paraphrases, though one finds, as is the case in any instance of lexical derivation, certain added meanings resulting from the fact that derived lexical items are names for certain aspects of the world. A number of compounds, such as **washaus** *'Friday'*, require considerable knowledge about aspects of meaning other than mere referential meaning. In the example cited, reference must be made to the habit of German housewives in German New Guinea to send their 'boys' to the washhouse on a Friday (cf. Brenninkmeyer 1924:18).

iii) Reduplication

The **phonological changes** with regard to the lexical base from which reduplicated lexical items are derived consist in a partial (as in **pilpilai** *'play, potter about'* from **pilai** *'play'*) or total iteration (as in **kalapkalap** *'jump up and down'* from **kalap** *'to jump'*) of the lexical base involved, with a number of other changes also being found (see section 5.5.2.).

No rule governed change of **categorial information** is found with reduplicated items, since a general derivational restriction in NGP blocks the reduplication of functionally derived lexical items and the shift of function with reduplicated items, with very few exceptions.

The changes in **semantic information** are typically very slight,[2] the main changes being that certain aspects of meaning present in a lexical base are reinforced or stressed by reduplicating it. In many cases reduplicated lexical items are stylistic variants of non-reduplicated ones rather than new names.

Derivation by functional shift, compounding and reduplication each fulfil important functions in providing the mechanisms for increasing referential adequacy and stylistic choice in NGP. Lexical bases of NGP can typically be operated on by a number of the lexical programs available, with the result that a relatively small inventory of lexical bases

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[1] A more detailed criticism of the notions of exocentric and endocentric compounds has been given by Botha (1968:54-5).

[2] Gauger (1970:100ff.) calls this kind of derivational process 'variation', implying that its main function is stylistic.

can be expanded into a lexicon which contains a multiple of lexical entries.

However, the application of lexical programs is restricted by a number of conventions, the most powerful being the restriction on multiple derivation, which is only very gradually being relaxed in some varieties of creolised and fluent second-language NGP. If it became possible for example, for compounding, functional shift and reduplication to regularly apply in sequence, the power of NGP's derivational lexicon would be increased spectacularly.

Other restrictions on the operation of lexical programs include general conventions about the phonological and morphological structure of words, some little understood universal constraints on possible compounds and functional shifts of the kind discussed by Rose (1973:509-26), Zimmer 1971 and 1972:3-20), and Cooper (1975:397-9), and a weaker convention barring the operation of lexical programs if the result would be homophonous with an already well established lexical item. Remarks on these restrictions will be made in connection with the discussion of individual programs.

Since the descriptive framework and the notational conventions used have already been discussed in detail in Chapter 2, the remainder of this chapter will be concerned principally with a description of the various types of lexical programs found in NGP.

5.3. MULTIFUNCTIONALITY OR DERIVATION INVOLVING A CHANGE OF CATEGORIAL STATUS

5.3.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The status of MF in linguistic description has been the topic of long debates and more recent discussions such as those by Kempen (1969), Fillmore (1971:370-91) and Leitner (1974) acknowledge that there is still a considerable body of residual problems.[1]

[1] Sapir (1966:53-4) has commented on the problems in connection with a description of MF in English:

> One of the glories of English simplicity is the possibility of using the same word as noun and verb. We speak, for instance, of "having cut the meat" and of "a cut of meat". We not only "kick a person", but "give him a kick". One may either "ride horseback" or "take a ride". At first blush this looks like a most engaging rule but a little examination convinces us that the supposed simplicity of word-building is a mirage .... Anyone who takes the trouble to examine these examples carefully will soon see that behind a superficial appearance of simplicity there is concealed a perfect hornet's nest of bizarre and arbitrary usages .... A complete examination, in short, of all cases in which the verb functions as a noun

(cont'd on p.350)

Since MF is by far the most widely attested process of word-formation in pidgin languages, it has also drawn considerable interest from pidgin scholars, a fact which has been discussed in detail by Mühlhäusler (1974:103-9). The assessment of MF in various pidgins and creoles, which ranges from 'confusion of parts of speech' to the acknowledgement of its vital role in lexical expansion is also reflected in remarks upon the status of MF and NGP. At the same time the history of the description of MF in NGP also reflects the differences in opinion about whether MF is a matter of listing in the lexicon or one of description in terms of a small number of regularities.

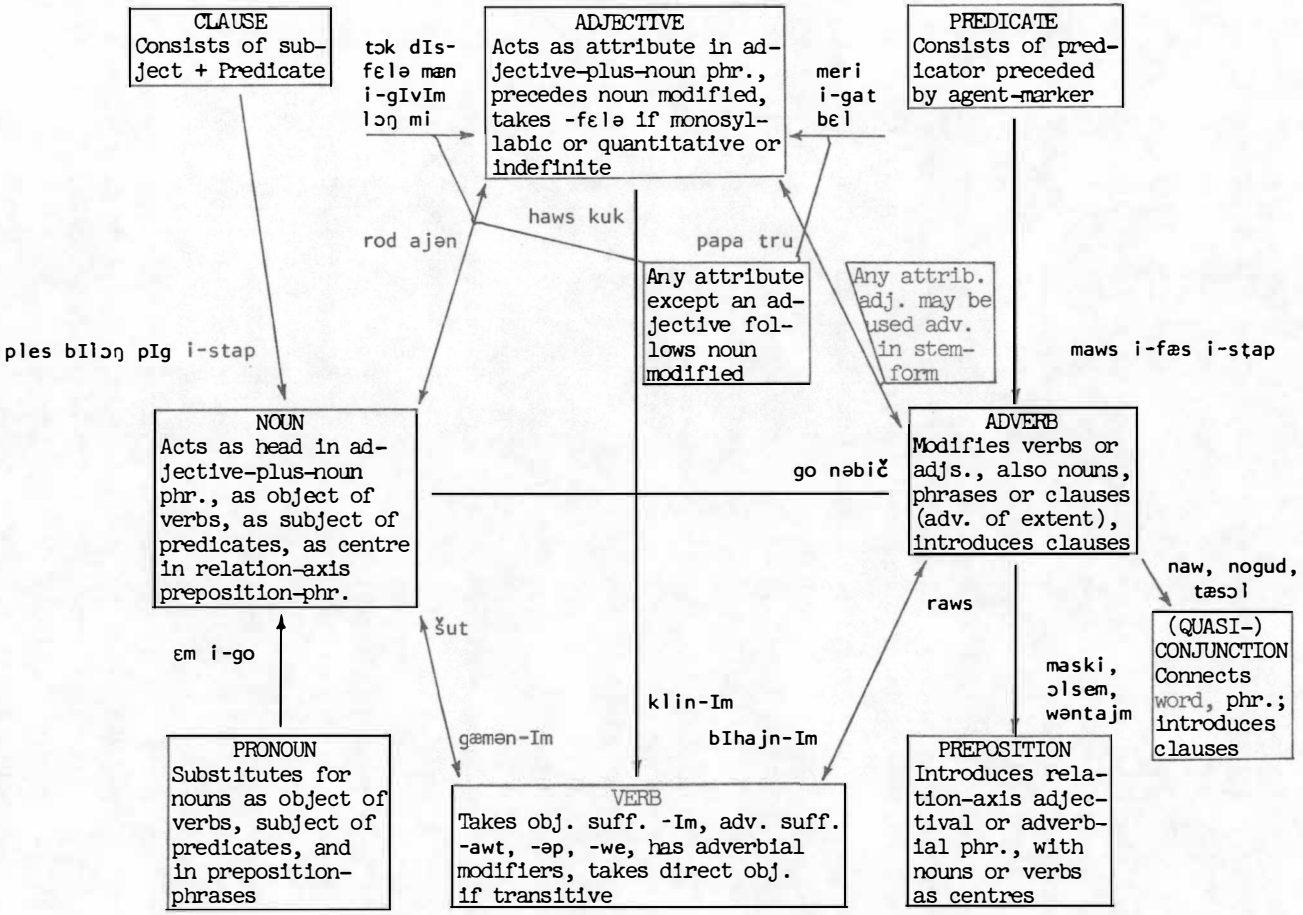
The first observation on the subject is that by Brenninkmeyer (1924: 23) who simply mentions "the use of the same word as noun, adjective and verb" without any attempt to describe the underlying regularities or present a list of examples. Some brief remarks about the formation of transitive verbals from intransitive verb bases and the derivation of verbals from noun bases by adding the suffix -im are made by Borchardt (n.d.:3). A brief list of examples is included; this list was expanded considerably for a later edition (Borchardt 1930:21ff.).

The first attempt to describe the regularities underlying MF is that by Hall (1943b:23ff.):

(fn.1 cont'd from p.349)

> would disclose two exceedingly cheerless facts: that there is a considerable number of distinct senses in which the verb may be so employed, though no rule can be given as to which of these possible senses is the proper one in any particular case or whether only one or more than one such meaning is possible; and that in many cases no such nouns may be formed at all, but that either nouns of an entirely different formation must be used or else that they are not possible at all.

PARTS OF SPEECH AND THEIR SUBSTITUTION from Hall (1943b:24)



Hall's analysis is based in the view of taxonomic linguistics current in the 1940s and, in the light of the progress made in handling word-formation since, some of his assumptions can no longer be subscribed to. In particular, Hall's decision to subsume a wide range of grammatical phenomena under the common denominator of 'substitution' means that the distinction between a number of lexical and syntactic processes has become blurred. Thus:

i) 'Substitution' includes the expansion of immediate constituents as in ples bilong pik i stap *'the place where the pig is'* from ples bilong pik *'the place of the pig'*, i.e. embedding of a clause into a position otherwise occupied by a noun.

ii) 'Substitution' refers to the relation between a pronoun and the noun phrase it replaces. The conditions for such a replacement are governed by the rules of discourse syntax.

iii) 'Substitution' refers to those instances in which a lexical base is functionally shifted to a lexical item of different categorial and semantic information, as illustrated in the shift of the adjective base klin *'clean'* to the derived verbal klinim *'to make clean'*.

The main objection to Hall's scheme is that the three kinds of substitutions should be treated in different parts of the grammar; in particular, the kinds of substitutions which involve the change of lexical information (the inner circle in Hall's scheme) should be treated differently from syntactic embedding (the outer circle).

A last remark on Hall's analysis concerns the enormous power of his rules of functional change. Since no restrictions on the generation of new lexical items are mentioned, he will predict not only numerous non-documented lexical items but also numerous others which cannot be lexical items of NGP because they violate a number of lexical restrictions.

It is only relatively recently that this aspect of MF has drawn attention as can be seen from remarks made by Laycock (1970a:xvii): "Not all bases can undergo so many changes, however; thus muruk *'cassowary'* is a noun only, gat *'have'* is a verb only, and tru *'truly'* is an adverb only." Wurm (1971a:8) also stresses that "many Pidgin bases show limitations in the range of functions in which they can appear." An attempt to deal with both the regularities underlying MF and the restrictions imposed on functional derivation by the grammar of NGP has been made by Mühlhäusler (1975a). The following sections are based on this paper, though his argument has since been changed as a result of comments from various scholars[1] as well as additional research.

[1] In particular C.-J.N. Bailey, G. Sankoff, R.B. LePage, D.C. Laycock and F. Mihalic.

The description of the various programs of functional shift will be divided into three main parts representing derivations from noun, verb and adjective bases respectively. Apart from listing as exhaustively as possible the lexical bases susceptible to individual derivational programs supplementary notes and examples from Rural Pidgin will be provided.

5.3.2. *DENOMINALISATIONS*

MF Program 1: (N + im) V_{tr} → yusim N long $\{^{\text{mekim}}_{\text{wokim}}\}$ sampela samting

'to use N *to* $\{^{make}_{do}\}$ *something'*

The nouns sensitive to this program can become transitive verbs by adding the transitivity marker -im. The following list includes the items most commonly used:

Noun base		Derived verbal	
ain	*'iron'*	ainim	*'to iron'*
baira	*'hoe'*	bairaim[1]	*'to hoe'*
bilo	*'half coconut shell'*	biloim	*'to bail out, ladle'*
blok	*'pulley'*	blokim	*'to raise with pulley'*
bombom	*'torch'*	bombomim	*'to catch fish with torch'*
bros	*'brush'*	brosim	*'to brush'*
bulit	*'glue'*	bulitim	*'to glue'*
dril	*'drill'*	drilim	*'to drill'*
glas	*'thermometer'*	glasim	*'to take s.o.'s temperature'*
glu	*'glue'*	gluim	*'to glue'*
hama	*'hammer'*	hamaim	*'to hammer'*
huk	*'hook'*	hukim	*'to catch with a hook'*
kom	*'comb'*	komim	*'to comb'*
laim	*'glue'*	laimim	*'to glue'*
lok	*'lock'*	lokim	*'to lock'*

[1] Apart from the form listed here one also finds the variant bairim, whilst for other derived verbals one finds forms with an intrusive [r] such as metarim *'to measure with a yardstick'*. However, the author has chosen to list only those examples where the derived form is formed from the basic one by the simple addition of -im. The idiosyncratic behaviour of some variants of these forms can be seen from the following list:

Derived Verbal and Variants	Gloss
bairaim, bairim, *bairarim	*'to hoe'*
metaim, *metim, metarim	*'to measure'*
hamaim, *hamim, hamarim	*'to hammer'*
rolaim, rolim, rolarim	*'to move with rollers'*
rulaim, rulim, *rularim	*'to rule (a line)'*
waraim, *warim, *wararim	*'to clean with water'*
soim, sorim	*'to saw'*

Noun base		Derived verbal	
lum	*'loom'*	lumim	*'to weave'*
maisil	*'chisel'*	maisilim	*'to chisel'*
meta	*'yardstick'*	metaim	*'to measure'*
nat	*'nut'*	natim	*'to secure with a nut'*
nil	*'nail'*	nilim	*'to nail'*
pam	*'pump'*	pamim	*'to pump'*
param	*'fathom, measure'*	paramim	*'to measure, to cover a distance'*
pin	*'pin'*	pinim	*'to pin'*
rola	*'roller'*	rolaim	*'to move with rollers'*
rula	*'ruler'*	rulaim	*'to draw (a line) with a ruler'*
sek	*'jack'*	sekim	*'to jack up (e.g. a car)'*
sling	*'sling'*	slingim	*'to lift up in a sling'*
smok	*'smoke'*	smokim	*'to smoke'*
sarip	*'grassknife'*	saripim	*'to cut with grassknife'*
savol	*'shovel'*	savolim	*'to dig with shovel'*
sib	*'sieve'*	sibim	*'to sieve'*
sop	*'soap'*	sopim	*'to wash with soap'*
soda	*'soldering iron'*	sodaim	*'to solder'*
spun	*'spoon'*	spunim	*'to spoon'*
skel	*'scales'*	skelim	*'to weigh'*
skru	*'screw'*	skruim	*'to join with screw'*
susu	*'punt'*	susuim	*'to move with a punt'*
swit	*'switch'*	switim	*'to switch on or off'*
spaten	*'spade'*	spatenim	*'to dig with a spade'*
wais	*'vice'*	waisim	*'to hold in a vice'*
wara	*'water'*	waraim	*'to clean with water'*
winis	*'winch'*	winisim	*'to raise with a winch'*
wilwil	*'mincer'*	wilwilim	*'to mince'*
win	*'wind, breath'*	winim	*'to blow out'*

Whilst most nouns referring to instruments can be made into transitive verbals, there are a number of restrictions, including:

a) Restrictions on the syllable or morpheme structure of words. Because of these restrictions a number of polysyllabic lexical bases and nominal compounds cannot become transitive verbals, e.g. pisba *'fish bar'*, wasewage *'water level'*, pukpukspana *'pipe wrench'*.

b) Restrictions on the semantic properties of noun bases referring to instruments.

No transitive verbs are derived from nouns referring to weapons. This excludes forms such as:

*akisim *'to kill with an axe'*
*bunaraim *'to shoot with bow and arrow'*
*kewerim *'to shoot with a rifle'*
*masketim *'to shoot with a shotgun'*

Although the forms spiaim *'to spear'*, stonim *'to stone'* and wipim *'to whip'* are heard occasionally, they must be considered as resulting from recent English influence. Most conservative speakers of NGP prefer the expressions sutim long spia *'to shoot with a spear'*, kilim long ston *'to hit with a stone'* and paitim long wip *'to hit with a whip'*. The constructions givim spia long *'to give a spear to'* and givim wip long *'to give the whip to'* are also heard. When a weapon is used as a mere instrument the derivation can take place. Compare bruder i stikim belo *'the Brother is sounding the bell with a stick'* and em i paitim man long stik *'he hit the man with a stick'*.

Other subclasses of noun bases which cannot become verbals include those referring to instruments of cutting, forms such as *sisisim *'cut with scissors'* or *naipim *'cut with a knife'* being unacceptable, and instruments used for closing containers (cf. 4.4.3.2.3.). Most of the derived verbals are only found in the form with the transitivity marker -im. Only huk *'to catch fish'* and bombom *'to attract fish with a torch'* were found without -im and without explicit mention of the object.

No medial or passive verbs corresponding to English constructions, such as *'the shirt is ironed, the shirt irons easily'*, are permitted in NGP, the only exceptions found being dua i lok *'the door is locked'* and piksa *'to be x-rayed'*.

MF Program 2: (N) V_{int} → mekim wok bilong N
'to perform the work of N'

Noun bases referring to persons of a certain professional or other status can become intransitive verbals, as in:

Noun base		Derived intransitive verbal	
witnes	*'witness'*	witnes	*'to be a witness'*
boskru	*'crew member'*	boskru	*'to be a crew member'*
bos	*'boss'*	bos	*'to be in charge'*
draiwa	*'driver'*	draiwa	*'to be a driver'*
jas	*'judge'*	jas	*'to be a judge'*
kundar	*'acolyte'*	kundar	*'to be an acolyte'*
memba	*'member'*	memba	*'to be a member, subscribe'*
papa	*'father'*	papa	*'to be the owner of'*
pasindia	*'freeloader'*	pasindia	*'to sponge'*

The use of these and some additional derived verbals is best illustrated with some actual examples:

NGP	Gloss
yumi no ken memba nabaut nabaut long ol pati	*'We cannot change our party membership randomly'*
gavman i mas waspapa long dispela wok	*'the government must look after this project'*
ol Hailans i go daun pasindia long Lae	*'the Highlanders go down and live at other people's expense in Lae'*

MF Program 3: $(N_1$ + im$)$ V_{tr} → mekim wok bilong N_1 long N_2
'to perform the work of N_1 *on* N_2*'*

In those cases where the status of a person is typically associated with its impact on others transitive verbals can be derived from a number of noun bases as in:

Noun base		Derived transitive verbal	
bos	*'boss'*	bosim	*'to rule over'*
het	*'head'*	hetim	*'to lead a group of people'*
jas	*'judge'*	jasim	*'to judge, to charge'*
mandor	*'supervisor'*	mandorim	*'to supervise'*
poroman	*'mate'*	poromanim	*'to accompany'*
pren	*'intimate friend'*	prenim	*'to befriend, have sexual intercourse with'*
birua	*'enemy'*	biruaim	*'to kill'*

MF Program 4: $(N$ + im$)$ V_{tr} → mekim sampela samting i go long N
'to put/move s.th. into ... N'

This program applies mainly to a number of noun bases referring to containers. The productivity of this program is restricted by the preference of many speakers to use paraphrases instead of functional shift, and it is only in creolised varieties of NGP that this program has become fully productive. The following forms, however, are widely accepted in Rural Pidgin:

Noun base		Derived transitive verbal	
lain	*'line, row'*	lainim	*'to line up'*
buk	*'book'*	bukim	*'to enter a debt into a book, to debit s.o.'*
banis	*'fence, bandage'*	banisim	*'to fence in, bandage'*
bek	*'bag'*	bekim	*'to put into bags'*
bilum	*'stringbag'*	bilumim	*'to put into a stringbag'*
bus	*'bush'*	busim	*'to send to the bush, chase away'*

Noun base		Derived transitive verbal	
graun	*'ground, soil'*	graunim	*'to bury'*
kalabus	*'prison'*	kalabusim	*'to imprison'*
kompaun	*'compound'*	kompaunim	*'to settle in a compound'*
matmat	*'grave'*	matmatim	*'to bury'*
sait	*'side'*	saitim	*'to put aside, put s.th. on its side'*
poket	*'pocket'*	poketim	*'to put inside a pocket, purloin'*
umben	*'net'*	umbenim	*'to put in a net, gather'*

A large number of noun bases do not undergo this functional shift, including *avenim *'to put into the oven'*, *bokisim *'to put inside a box'*, *betim *'to shelve'*, *konaim *'to corner'*, *pausim *'to put in a pouch'*, *sarangim *'to put in a cupboard'*, *tinim *'to tin'* and *plesim *'to place'*.

MF Program 5: (N + im) V_{tr} → rausim (tekeweim) N
'to remove N'

The derivation of deprivative verbs from noun bases is a program recently borrowed from English and not acceptable in Rural Pidgin, with the exception of selim (related to sel *'shell'*) in selim kopi *'to remove the skin of a coffee bean'*. Skinim is often used by Europeans to mean *'to skin'*. The meaning of this form in Rural Pidgin (with the implied object kok *'penis'*) is *'to pull down the foreskin'*.

MF Program 6: (N + im) V_{tr} → salim N long
'to send N *to'*

Noun bases referring to messages, materials or specimens instrumental in conveying messages, or to spells, can become transitive verbs, as in the following examples:

Noun base		Derived transitive verbal	
brotkas	*'broadcast'*	brotkasim	*'to send a broadcast to'*
marila	*'love spell'*	marilaim	*'to cast a love spell on'*
glas	*'mirror'*	glasim	*'to send a mirror message'*
pupulu	*'love spell'*	pupuluim	*'to cast a love spell on'*
papait	*'sorcery'*	papaitim	*'to subject someone to sorcery'*
poisen	*'sorcery'*	poisenim	*'to subject someone to sorcery'*
tanget	*'invitation'*	tangetim	*'to invite'*
telipon	*'phone'*	teliponim	*'to phone'*

MF Program 7: (N + im) V_{tr} → mekim i kamap olsem N
'to reduce to, make into N'

The meaning of the transitive verb is *'to make into what is referred to by the noun'*. Examples include:

Noun base		Derived transitive verbal	
baret	*'ditch'*	baretim[1]	*'to drain by making ditches'*
hap	*'piece, part'*	hapim	*'to reduce to parts'*
hip	*'heap'*	hipim	*'to pile up into a heap'*
meme	*'pulp, inedible part of a betelnut or sugarcane'*	memeim	*'to pulverise, chew up'*
pudel	*'heap'*	pudelim	*'to heap'* (obsolete)
lot	*'roll of cloth'*	lotim	*'to roll up, coil'*

MF Program 8: (N) V_{int} → mekim long N (= sampela taim)
'to do something at a certain time'

Noun bases[2] referring to a point or period of time can become intransitive verbs expressing *'to do what is normally done at such a time'*. The following examples were recorded:

Noun base		Derived intransitive verbal	
brekpas	*'breakfast'*	brekpas	*'to have breakfast'*
limlimbur	*'period of rest'*	limlimbur	*'to stroll'*
malolo	*'time of rest'*	malolo	*'to rest'*
pesto	*'celebration'*	pesto	*'to celebrate'*
mun	*'month'*	mun	*'to pool wages'*[3]
potnait	*'fortnight'*	potnait	*'to pool wages'*
sande	*'Sunday'*	sande	*'to pool wages on Sunday'* or *'to spend Sunday'*
spel	*'time of rest'*	spel	*'to rest'*
taim	*'time, period of contract'*	taim	*'to serve one's contract time'*

To interpret the derived verbals correctly, some cultural knowledge as to the activities performed on certain days or at certain times is necessary.

MF Program 9: (N) V_{int} → mekim long N (= sampela ples)
'to do something in a certain place'

The program is similar to Program 8, the main difference being that locality instead of time is the focus of the action in the derived intransitive verbals. Examples include:

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[1] This could also be understood in terms of Program 1.

[2] This program was found to operate not only on simple noun bases but also some nominal compounds, as in restaim *'rest time'*, restaim *'to have a rest'*.

[3] Remarks on the habit of pooling wages have been made, for instance, by Murphy (1973: 30 and 45) and Healey (n.d.:63-4).

Noun base		Derived intransitive verbal	
gol	*'goal'*	gol	*'to be in goal (football)'*
bung	*'gathering place'*	bung	*'to come together'*
ami	*'army'*	ami	*'to do military service'*
haiskul	*'high school'*	haiskul	*'to go to high school'*
kivung	*'gathering'*	kivung	*'to gather'*
klap	*'club'*	klap	*'to meet at the club'*
kot	*'court'*	kot	*'to hold a court'*
opis	*'office'*	opis	*'to work in an office'*
klinik	*'clinic'*	klinik	*'to hold a clinic'*
skul	*'school'*	skul	*'to go to school'*
sua	*'shore, beach'*	sua	*'to go ashore, land'*
maket	*'market'*	maket	*'to hold a market'*
arere	*'edge, boundary'*	arere	*'to lie in waiting, ambush'*
blok	*'a planted block of coconut palms or space between'*	blok	*'to work in a block, work together'*

Some examples of the use of this type of denominalised verbals are:

NGP	Gloss
sista i kam klinik long wik bihain	*'the sister will hold the (baby) clinic next week'*
mipela i raun long solwara i go i go mipela i sua nau	*'we drifted at sea for some time and then came ashore'*

MF Program 10: (N) V_{int} → i gat N
'to have (the property of) N'

Noun bases referring to a number of alienable and inalienable properties can become intransitive verbals expressing *'to have a certain property'*. Examples are:

Noun base		Derived intransitive verbal	
grile	*'ringworm, tinea'*	grile	*'to have ringworm, a rough surface'*
gris	*'fat'*	gris	*'to be fat'*
kambang	*'mould'*	kambang	*'to be mouldy'*
kaskas	*'scabies'*	kaskas	*'to be scabious'*
masel	*'muscle'*	masel	*'to be very strong'*
mosong	*'fluff'*	mosong	*'to be fluffy'*
ros	*'rust'*	ros	*'to be rusty'*
susu	*'breast'*	susu	*'to be grown up (of girls)'*
sua	*'ulcer'*	sua	*'to be ulcerous'*
tais	*'swamp'*	tais	*'to be swampy'*
kru	*'sprout, creeper'*	kru	*'to be sprouting'*

The use of this program in linguistic context is illustrated in examples such as:

NGP	Gloss
mi no masel, mi no nap karim yu	*'I am not strong (muscular) and I can't carry you'*
dispela plang i mosong yu mas plenim gut	*'this board is rough so you must plane it well'*
iau i blut	*'his ear is bleeding'*

MF Program 11: (N + im) N_{tr} → putim N long ...
'to put N *on s.th.'*

The category described here is that of ornative verbals, i.e. derived verbals which express that the referent of a noun base is used to adorn a person or object, as in:

Noun base		Derived transitive verbal	
bilas	*'adornment'*	bilasim	*'to adorn, decorate'*
kala	*'colour'*	kalaim	*'to colour in'*
pen	*'paint'*	penim	*'to paint'*
sadol	*'saddle'*	sadolim	*'to saddle'*
kraun	*'crown'*	kraunim	*'to crown'*
nem	*'name'*	nemim	*'to name'*

MF Program 12: (N) V_{int} → sampela $\{^{man}_{samting}\}$ i olsem N
'to be like N*'*

This program involves metaphorical change in meaning and its use can be best illustrated by showing how it is used in linguistic context:

NGP	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
meri i KULAU yet	*'the girl is still an unripe coconut'*	*'the girl is underdeveloped, not yet mature'*
man ya i SAK tru	*'this man is shark really'*	*'this man is very sharp'*
mi save BUSKANAKA long spak	*'I am a bushkanaka with regard to drink'*	*'I abstain from drink'* or *'I am unsophisticated in matters of drink'*
sampela man i wari bai em i SOL tru long ol	*'some men are concerned that he will be really salt to them'*	*'some men are concerned that he'll be very angry with them'*
mi KANAKA tru long dispela	*'I am really kanaka in these matters'*	*'I am completely inexperienced in these matters'*
man ya i PANGAL	*'this man is a sago leaf-stalk'*	*'this man is very thin'*
bel bilong mi i PAIA	*'my belly is fire'*	*'I am very hungry'*

NGP	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
bel bilong mi i KASKAS	*'my belly is scabies'*	*'I am furious'*
rot i WEL	*'the road is oil'*	*'the road is slippery'*
man ya i SUGA	*'the man is sugar'*	*'this man is very gentle'*

MF Program 13: (N) V_{int} → sampela $\{^{man}_{samting}\}$ i mekim olsem N

'to be, behave like N'

As with the previous program, the various kinds of metaphorical shifts in meaning found with the derived verbals will be illustrated in their linguistic context:

NGP	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
ol i BRUDER	*'they do what lay brothers typically do'*	*'they smoke cigars'*
palai i KLOK	*'the lizard does what a clock does'*	*'the lizard makes clicking noises (whose number is believed to indicate the time of day)'*
rot i SNEK nabaut	*'the road snakes in all directions'*	*'the road is very winding'*
mi painim meri tasol em i WIN	*'I was looking for the woman but she was wind'*	*'I was looking for the woman but she had rushed away'*
pikinini i RUKSAK long mama bilongen	*'the child "rucksacked" on his mother'*	*'the child was carried pick-a-back'*

These thirteen programs constitute the bulk of denominalisation in NGP. Among the residual cases are i) cases which involve shift in sub-categorial status such as have been mentioned in subsection 4.3.3.4., and ii) cases which are difficult to fit into any of the major programs. Very often such non-systematic instances of functional shift reflect the recent influence of English. An instance of type ii) is that of verbals derived from abstract noun bases, as in:

Abstract noun base		Derived verbals	
paua	*'power'*	paua	*'powerful'*
mining	*'meaning'*	miningim	*'to mean, signify'*
spit	*'speed'*	spit	*'to be fast'*
mosen	*'motion'*	mosen	*'to table a motion'*
ileksin	*'election'*	ileksenim	*'to elect s.o.'*

The author feels, however, that NGP speakers with no knowledge of English are inclined to regard the abstract nouns as derived and the verb forms as basic, in conformity with the lexical patterns of NGP where the bulk of abstract nominals is derived from verb or adjective bases. For instance lot from English *'load'*, functions as an intransitive verb base with the meaning *'heavy'* in Rural Pidgin, a fact which is confirmed

by its being able to undergo the causative derivation lotim *'cause to be heavy, load'*. The nominal lot *'load'* then would be derived from V_{int} lot by a regular process of derivation of nominals from intransitive verbs. The alternative explanation N → V_{tr} is unlikely since it does not follow any regular program in NGP.

Other examples of denominalisations which do not as yet belong to productive patterns include:

Noun bases		Derived verbals	
kain	*'kind'*	kainim	*'to differentiate, segregate'*
sia	*'share'*	sia	*'to hold shares'*
laisis	*'licence'*	laisisim	*'to licence (a gun)'*
sait	*'side'*	saitim	*'to avoid a mountain by going along its sides'*
skru	*'screw'*	skru	*'to be adjacent to'*
poin	*'point'*	poinim	*'to point at'*
bisnis	*'business'*	bisnis	*'to deal in'*
tret	*'trade goods'*	tretim	*'to share out'*

Since NGP is still in the process of structural expansion, functional shift of noun bases outside the present-day system may develop into new lexical programs in future.

5.3.3. *DEADJECTIVAL LEXICAL ITEMS*

The distinction between adjective and intransitive verb bases is difficult to make, the main reason being that categorial information tends to be largely neutralised in predicative position (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975a:23-6). The approach adopted here is that only those word bases which can appear in attributive position are regarded as true adjectives, and that all others, often classified as adjectives by virtue of the fact that they have English adjective cognates, are regarded as intransitive verb bases.

Adjective bases in NGP are very limited in number and, in addition, there is a considerable amount of interindividual variation in the use of attributive adjectives.[1] The following list represents the most commonly used adjective bases:

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[1] Some speakers, particularly speakers of Bush Pidgin, use a number of additional forms in attributive position. The author has recorded sempela *'ashamed'*, brukpela *'broken'* and krospela *'angry'*, though such forms would be rejected by most sophisticated speakers. Another source of additional attributive adjectives is Urban Pidgin.

i) adjective bases preceding nominals:

bikpela	*'big'*	nupela	*'new'*
blakpela	*'black, dark blue'*	olpela	*'old (of things)'*
blupela	*'blue'*	raunpela	*'round'*
braunpela	*'brown'*	retpela	*'red'*
draipela	*'large'*	siotpela	*'short'*
grinpela	*'green, light blue'*	strongpela	*'strong'*
gutpela	*'good'*	switpela	*'sweet, delicious'*
hatpela	*'hard'*	waitpela	*'white'*
longpela	*'long'*	yangpela	*'young'*
naispela	*'nice, attractive'*	kranki	*'stupid, cranky'*
trupela	*'true'*	liklik[1]	*'small'*
klinpela	*'clean'*	lapun	*'old (of humans)'*
maupela	*'ripe'*	longwe	*'distant'*
		singel	*'unmarried, single'*

ii) adjective bases following nominals:

kais	*'left'*	sut	*'right'*
kela	*'bald'*	tambu	*'taboo'*
malomalo	*'soft, flexible'*	tarangu	*'poor'*

The following programs of functional shift were found to operate on adjective bases:

MF Program 14: (adj) N_{abs} → pasin bilong stap adj
'the manner of being adj*'*

The derivation of abstract nominals from adjective bases exhibits considerable idiosyncratic behaviour with regard to changes in both phonological and semantic information, and Wurm's statement to the effect that attributive adjective bases can freely become abstract nominals by dropping the suffix -pela (Wurm 1971a:54) is an overgeneralisation.

The behaviour with regard to the loss of -pela and semantic changes is best illustrated by presenting deadjectivised abstract nominals in their linguistic context.

NGP	Gloss
kisim BIK bilong gaten BILONG YU	*'measure the SIZE of YOUR GARDEN'*
yumi pait long GUTPELA bilong kantri bilong yumi	*'we are fighting for the GOOD of our country'*

[1] Polysyllabic adjectives do not usually take the suffix -pela, though in Bush Pidgin and Urban Pidgin forms such as hamaspela *'how many'*, liklikpela *'small'* or lapunpela *'aged'* can be heard. In the case of speakers of Urban Pidgin this can be regarded as a kind of hyperpidginisation.

NGP	Gloss
dralpela HAT, san i hat mo	*'a terrible HEAT, the sun is really hot'*
tu tausen metrik tan HEVI bilong rais	*'two thousand metric tons WEIGHT of rice'*
ol masta i save gat KELA nabaut	*'the Europeans usually have BALD PATCHES'*
asua i kamap long KRANKI bilongen	*'the accident occurred as a result of his FOOLISHNESS'*
LONG bilong dispela wara	*'the LENGTH of this river'*
LONGPELA bilong dispela bris	*'the LENGTH of this bridge'*
LONGLONG bilong yu i no liklik yet	*'your FOOLISHNESS is not small'*
SWIT bilong nupela pis i winim SWIT bilong tinpis	*'the TASTE of fresh fish is better than that of tinned fish'*
SWIT bilong ti	*'the SCENT of the tea'*
mi longlong long OLPELA bilongen	*'I am not certain about his AGE'*
mi kirapim dispela bisnis long STRONG bilong mi yet	*'I started this business on my own STRENGTH'*
em i kisim LAPUN bilongen	*'he reached OLD AGE'*
long YANGPELA bilong mi	*'in my YOUTH'*

MF Program 15: (adj) N_{concr} → sampela samting/man i adj
's.o. or s.th. that is adj'

The idiosyncracies found in the derivation of abstract nominals from adjective bases are also found with this program, particularly with regard to the semantic properties of derived nominals, as in:

NGP	Gloss
lukim KRANKI ya	*'look at that IDIOT'*
YELO bilong klau	*'the YOLK of an egg'*
LIKLIK bilong mi, SMOL bilong mi	*'my YOUNGER SIBLING'*
BIKPELA bilong mi	*'my OLDER SIBLING'*
BIKPELA i tok	*'JESUS said'*
DRAI	*'DRY COCONUT'*
SAP bilong naip	*'the BLADE of a knife'*
wanpela GRIN i kam	*'bring a GREEN BOTTLE OF BEER'*
KOL i stap long ol plaua	*'the DEW is on the flowers'*
BLAK bilong lam	*'the SOOT on the lamp'*
TAMBU[1] bilong mi	*'an AFFINE of mine'*

[1]Detailed notes on the item tambu are given by Salisbury (1967:47).

MF Program 16: (adj) V_{caus} → mekim i adj
'to cause to be(come) adj'

The number of adjective bases following this program is rather restricted, but the changes in phonological and semantic information are regular. Examples on record include:

Adjective base		Derived causative verbal	
bikpela	*'big'*	bikim	*'to enlarge'*
draipela	*'dry'*	draiim	*'to dry'*
kolpela	*'cold'*	kolim	*'to make cold'*
sotpela	*'short'*	sotim	*'to shorten, abbreviate'*
switpela	*'sweet, pleasant'*	switim	*'to make sweet, make feel pleasant'*
trupela	*'true'*	truim	*'to make come true, fulfil'*
raunpela	*'round'*	raunim	*'to make round, roll (a cigarette)'*

The form kolim *'to cool'* was rejected by some informants because of its being homophonous with kolim *'to call, name'*, whilst other possible derivations such as *nuim *'to make new, renovate'*, *patim *'to fatten'* and *lapunim *'to make old'* were found to be unacceptable.[1]

MF Program 17: (adj) V_{int} → sampela samting/man i adj
's.o. or s.th. is adj'

The decision to treat the use of adjective bases in predicative position as an instance of lexical derivation rather than as a syntactic transformation was motivated by the fact that in NGP neither the morphological nor the semantic information of adjectives shifted to predicative position is fully predictable from their base information. Three main classes of this shift can be distinguished:

i) -pela appears with both adjective base and derived verbal with no change in semantic information:

Adjective base		Derived verbal	
sotpela siket	*'short skirt'*	siket i sotpela	*'the skirt is short'*
bikpela haus	*'big house'*	haus i bikpela	*'the house is big'*
longpela diwai	*'tall tree'*	diwai i longpela	*'the tree is tall'*
nupela pis	*'fresh fish'*	pis i nupela	*'the fish is fresh'*

and others which are listed by Dutton (1973:98-9).

[1] The form gutim *'to make good'* has been reported in a number of older sources, but appears to have been replaced by oraitim *'to make good, correct'*.

ii) -pela appears in adjective base but not in derived verbal:

Adjective base		Derived verbal	
klinpela siot	*'clean shirt'*	siot i klin	*'the shirt is clean'*
sappela naip	*'sharp knife'*	naip i sap	*'to knife is sharp'*
draipela[1] graun	*'dry land'*	graun i drai	*'the land is dry'*
maupela banana	*'ripe banana'*	banana i mau	*'the banana is ripe'*

iii) verbals with and without -pela are derived and differ in semantic information:

Derived verbal with -pela		Derived verbal without -pela	
strongpela	*'strong'*	strong	*'to be stubborn, insist'*
hatpela	*'hard'*	hat	*'to try hard'*
stretpela	*'well postured'*	stret	*'to be correct'*

Again, additional examples are listed by Dutton (1973:99). The use of the last type of derived verbals is illustrated by the following sentences:

NGP	Gloss
ol pipel i STRONG long baim tinpis tasol	*'the people insist on buying tinned fish only'*
ol meri ol i HAT long lukautim em i go	*'the women tried hard (had a hard time) looking after it (the pig)'*

MF Program 18: (adj) adv_{manner} → long adj pasin
'in an adj *fashion'*

The derivation of adverbials from adjective bases exhibits a number of idiosyncrasies both with regard to changes in morphological information and with regard to certain semantic changes. Thus, statements to the effect that any adjective base in its stem form can function as an adverbial[2] need to be modified. Because of their idiosyncratic behaviour, manner adverbials are best presented in linguistic context:

NGP	Gloss
yu no ken go STRONG taim wara i ron NUPELA yet	*'you cannot walk STRONGLY (fast) when the water is still running FRESHLY on the road'*

[1] But draipela pik *'big pig'* and pik i draipela *'the pig is big'*. The author believes that draipela *'big'* and draipela *'dry'* should be treated as two separate lexical bases in present-day NGP, in spite of the origin of the former in em i gat draipela bun *'he has got dry bones = he is strong'*.

[2] This has been said, for instance, by Hall (1943b:23), Mihalic (1971:34-5) and Wurm (1971a:58).

NGP	Gloss
mausgras i singaut BIKPELA	*'the one with the moustache shouted LOUDLY'*
em i winim susap KRANKI	*'he played the jew's harp WRONGLY'*
ol i paitim em NOGUT	*'they hit him BADLY'*
ol lain meri i bilas NOGUT TRU	*'the group of girls dressed up REALLY BEAUTIFULLY'*
ol plaua i luk moa NAISPELA TRU	*'the flowers look VERY NICE'*

An important deadjectivised manner adverbial is liklik *'a bit'*, which can modify either verbs or verb phrases. The brackets used in the following sentences illustrate differences in the constituent structure of their verb phrases:

NGP	Gloss
meri ya i (no sem) liklik	*'the girl here is not ashamed at all'*
meri ya i no (sem liklik)	*'the girl here is greatly ashamed'*
mi (no save kisim wanpela pe) liklik	*'I did not receive any pay at all'*
man i no (blut liklik)	*'the man really bled'*

5.3.4. *DEVERBAL LEXICAL ITEMS*

5.3.4.1. Derivation from Intransitive Verb Bases

Before proceeding to the discussion of individual programs, it is necessary to mention an important property of intransitive verb bases of NGP, namely their inherent neutrality with regard to aspectual features of semantics such as completion versus non-completion, state versus activity or habitual versus non-habitual action. The failure to recognise that these distinctions can be expressed optionally by means of aspect markers has led to the multiple listing of many lexical bases as verbs and predicative adjectives. Because this fact is a puzzle to many observers (cf. Mead 1931:148), some instances of the use of aspect markers with intransitive verb bases will be listed here. A more detailed discussion is found in Mühlhäusler (1975a:23-6).

The distinction between completion (state) and intention (action), which has served as the basis of many previous classifications into predicative adjectives and intransitive verbs, can be expressed optionally by choosing the aspect markers pinis *'completion'* and laik *'inception'*, as in:

NGP	Gloss
rere pinis	*'ready'*
laik rere	*'to prepare oneself'*
hat pinis	*'hot'*
laik hat	*'heating up'*
bik pinis	*'big'*
laik bik	*'growing up'*
kela pinis	*'bald'*
laik kela	*'getting bald'*
bruk pinis	*'broken'*
laik bruk	*'disintegrating'*
hepi pinis	*'satisfied'*
laik hepi	*'getting pleased'*
lus pinis	*'loose'*
laik lus	*'to loosen'*
op pinis	*'open'*
laik op	*'opening up'*

Apart from solving a problem of classification, this analysis of semantic changes through aspect marking also solves the problem of the so-called passive in NGP. The author believes that constructions such as glas i bruk should not be related by a syntactic transformation to sampela man i brukim glas *'s.o. broke the glass'*, since the agent cannot be expressed in the 'passive' structure.[1] Instead a 'middle' rather than 'passive' voice can be expressed with intransitive verb bases in NGP by adding the aspect marker pinis as in glas i bruk pinis *'the glass is broken'*. Further support for this analysis comes from the fact that no middle voice can be formed from any transitive verb base or derived verbal, as can be seen from the following sentences:

NGP	Gloss
polis i holim spakman long haus simen	*'the police held the drunk in the prison cell'*
*spakman i hol (pinis) long haus simen	*'the drunk was held in the cell'*

[1] Hooley (1962:118) postulates a passive transformation for NGP. However, Mühlhäusler (1975a:26) has shown that this approach fails to be an adequate characterisation of this construction in NGP. More recently Woolford (1977:188-203) has put forward additional arguments against Hooley's analysis.

NGP	Gloss
kamda i hobelim plang	*'the carpenter planed the board'*
*plang i hobel (pinis)	*'the board is planed'*

MF Program 19: $(V_{int})\ N_{abs} \rightarrow$ pasin bilong V_{int}

'the manner of V_{int}*'*

This program is one of the main sources of abstract nominals in NGP and can apply, with very few exceptions, to virtually any intransitive verb base. Because of the neutrality of most bases with regard to the aspects of state or action, derived abstract nominals can be interpreted variably as 'the process of performing an action' or 'the state resulting therefrom'.[1] Only a few derived nominals exhibit additional semantic information, including:

Intransitive verb base		Derived abstract nominal	
pani	*'to be funny, fool around'*	pani	*'joke'*
wokabaut	*'to walk'*	wokabaut	*'travels, deeds'*
sindaun	*'to sit'*	sindaun	*'behaviour'*
op	*'to be open, stretch from ... to'*	op	*'width'*

Examples with regular change of semantic information include:

NGP	Gloss
yumi mas helpin GOHET bilong kantri bilong yumi	*'we must help the PROGRESS of our country'*
KAMAP bilong ol i gutpela	*'their DEVELOPMENT is good'*
mi kros long PRAUT bilong ol nes	*'I am angry about the nurses' PRIDE'*
LONGLONG na SAVE i olsem Hailans i gat na nambis i gat	*'it is like this with IGNORANCE and KNOWLEDGE: they are found among Highlanders and Lowlanders alike'*
dispela RAUN bilong ol	*'their ROUND TRIP'*

Abstract nouns are typically found after verbal auxiliaries such as mekim *'to do'*, painim *'to receive, find'* or gat *'to have'*, and in these constructions correspond to intransitive verb bases accompanied by certain aspect markers, the following being the most frequent correspondences:

Aspect marker	Corresponding auxiliary	Function
wok long + V_{int}	mekim + N_{abs}	performative
laik + V_{int}	painim + N_{abs}	inchoative
ø + V_{int}	gat + N_{abs}	neutral

[1] An example is kros *'anger'* or *'quarrel'* derived from kros *'to be angry'* or *'to quarrel'*.

Consider the following cases:

a) mekim *'to make'*

em i wok long hambak	em i mekim hambak	*'he is humbugging'*
ol i wok long toktok	ol i mekim toktok	*'they are talking'*
ol i wok long kivung	ol i mekim kivung	*'they are gathering'*
em i wok long promis	em i mekim promis	*'he promises'*

b) painim *'to experience'*

Painim is used when the inchoative aspect is used in the basic construction. Most commonly it is found with expressions referring to a state of health, as in the following examples:

em i laik sik	em i painim sik	*'he is becoming ill'*
yu laik bagarap	yu painim bagarap	*'you are getting hurt'*
man i laik indai	man painim indai	*'the man is about to die'*

c) gat *'get'*

Gat is the most neutral of these auxiliaries. Abstract nominals appearing as surface structure objects of gat are commonly derived from adjectives which are unmarked for aspect, as in:

mi kros	mi gat kros	*'I am angry'*
mi les	mi gat les	*'I am tired'*
klos i doti	klos i gat doti	*'the garment is dirty'*

Whilst adding relatively little new semantic information, the derivation of abstract nominals from intransitive verb bases serves to increase NGP's stylistic flexibility, not only by providing lexical choice, but also by allowing new syntactic variation of the kind which has been pointed out by the author elsewhere (Mühlhäusler 1975a:17-19).

MF Program 20: (V_{int}) N → samting man i save mekim long hap bodi bilongen *'bodily action'*

This program is related to Program 19, the principal difference being that the derived nominals here describe the action itself rather than the manner in which it is carried out. The semantic class of intransitive verbs involved here is that of making noises or performing certain bodily actions. Examples include:

Intransitive verb base		Derived nominal	
singaut	*'to cry, shout'*	singaut	*'a shout, bark'*
nais	*'to shake'*	nais	*'a shiver'*
tok(tok)	*'to talk'*	tok(tok)	*'a talk, speech'*
puinga	*'to break wind'*	puinga	*'a fart'*
pairap	*'to belch, explode'*	pairap	*'a belch, explosion'*
swet	*'to sweat'*	swet	*'sweat'*

MF Program 21: (V_{int} + im) V_{caus} → mekim sampela samting/man i V_{int}

'to cause s.th./s.o. to be in the state expressed by V_{int}*'*

It has been pointed out in the discussion of the development of lexical programs (4.4.3.2.7.) that the derivation of causative verbals from intransitive verb bases is one which has undergone a considerable increase in productivity. The author recorded many new instances of such changes among the younger generation of NGP speakers. The changes in both semantic and phonological information exhibit very few idiosyncracies. Some of the most commonly used forms are:

Intransitive verb base		Derived causative verbal	
ap[1]	*'to move upwards, be up'*	apim	*'to raise, put up'*
bagarap	*'to be ruined, deficient'*	bagarapim	*'to ruin, spoil'*
daun	*'to be down, move down'*	daunim	*'to put down, swallow, humiliate'*
gohet	*'to advance, progress'*	gohetim	*'to develop, make advance'*
ova	*'to overturn'*	ovaim	*'to turn s.th. over'*
pas	*'to be firm, tight, blocked'*	pasim	*'to close, fasten, obstruct'*
raus	*'to get out, be out'*	rausim	*'to chuck out, dismiss'*
skrap	*'to be excited, itch'*	skrapim	*'to arouse'*
spit	*'to be fast, run fast'*	spitim	*'to speed s.th.'*

Apart from these and other well established forms, a number of new ones were recorded, a large subgroup of which are causative verbals derived from intransitive verbs of motion. The examples will be given in the linguistic context in which they were encountered:

NGP	Gloss
mipela i HARIAPIM yu long pulim mipela i gohet	*'we made you pull us forward quickly'*
wesan i PAIRAPIM nek bilong snek	*'the sand made (the throat of) the snake belch'*
win i PLAIIM plak	*'the wind made the flag fly'*
moran i PUNDAUNIM em	*'the python made him fall down'*
kaunsil i mas SARAPIM ol	*'the councillor must shut them up'*
Siaman i kam SINDAUNIM ol pipel	*'the Germans came to "civilise" the people (make them behave)'*
bia no ken SPAKIM yu	*'beer can't make you drunk'*

[1] Contrary to what has been said about ap by a number of writers (e.g. Mihalic 1971:22), it is not an adverb or adverbial suffix in NGP. Instead it must be regarded as an intransitive verb base meaning *'to move in an upward direction'*. It is frequently collocated with other verbs of motion in verbal chains such as haisim ap *'to hoist up'*. A causative verbal can be derived, i.e. apim *'to cause to move upward'*.

In NGP sentences the derived causative verbal[1] is typically followed after the object by the intransitive verb base introduced by i, as in:

NGP	Gloss
tupela i KAMAPIM famili i KAMAP	*'the two of them started a family'*
em i RAUSIM tupela meri i RAUS	*'he threw out the two women'*
em i SLIPIM motabaik i SLIP	*'he laid the motorbike on the ground'*
yu PASIM dua i PAS	*'close the door (properly)!'*
yu APIM botol i AP	*'bottoms up!'*

MF Program 22: $(V_{int}$ + im) V_{tr} → mekim/wokim sampela samting
'to do s.th. to, make s.th.'

The above construction is of considerable theoretical interest, as has been shown by Edmonson and Mühlhäusler (forthcoming).

This program refers to those instances where certain intransitive verb bases become transitive verbals which are followed by nominal objects. The surface object relation, signalled by the transitivity marker -im, can be referred to by a number of semantic relations between nominal and verbal, such as result (rait *'to write'* - raitim pas *'to write a letter'*) or direction (kalap *'to jump'* - kalapim *'to jump over'*), which will not be analysed here but which can be seen from the examples listed below.

The intransitive verb bases found with this program are seldom found in the previous program (MF 21), since this would lead to ambiguity. The few cases on record include amamasim *'to make glad'* or *'to rejoice over'*, and maritim, as in pris i maritim tupela *'the priest married the couple'* and em i laik maritim dispela meri *'he wants to marry this girl'*. On the other hand, one finds pairs such as goap *'to climb'* - goapim *'to climb up s.th. or s.o., have intercourse with'* but not in the meaning of *'make climb'*, and kamdaun *'to descend'* - kamdaunim *'to make descend'* but not *'to descend on'*. Abstract nominals can be equally well derived from intransitive verb bases of both groups, as in goap bilongen *'his ascent'* and kamdaun bilongen *'his descent'*.

The following cases of derivation of transitive verbals were recorded:

[1] A similar construction was found with the few causative verb bases in NGP. Here a semantically related intransitive verbal appears after the object of the causative verb, as in boinim haus i paia *'to burn down a house'*, kilim man i dai *'to kill a man'*.

Intransitive verb base		Derived transitive verbal	
draiv	*'to drive'*	draivim	*'to drive s.th.'*
laik	*'to be willing'*	laikim	*'to like, love s.o. or s.th.'*
rait	*'to write'*	raitim	*'to write s.th.'*
samap	*'to do needlework'*	samapim	*'to sew s.th.'*
stil	*'to be hidden, be dishonest'*	stilim	*'to steal s.th.'*
kik	*'to quarrel'*	kikim	*'to quarrel with, kick s.o.'*
pait	*'to fight'*	paitim	*'to hit, beat'*
pak	*'to fuck'*[1]	pakim	*'to fuck s.o.'*
wet	*'to wait'*	wetim	*'to wait for'*
singaut	*'to shout, cry, bark'*	singautim	*'to call s.o., demand'*
ting	*'to think, ponder'*	tingim	*'to remember, think of'*
kros	*'to be angry'*	krosim	*'to scold'*
traut	*'to vomit'*	trautim	*'to throw s.th. up'*
luk	*'to look like, seem'*	lukim	*'to see s.o./s.th.'*
sekan	*'to shake hands'*	sekanim	*'to make peace with s.o.'*
lap	*'to laugh'*	lapim	*'to laugh at'*
wok	*'to work'*	wokim	*'to make'*
win	*'to be very good'*	winim	*'to surpass'*

A last point which needs to be mentioned here are cases where transitivity is signalled variably by -im or long with or without differences in the semantic properties of the derived transitive verbals.

In the varieties investigated by the author, i.e. mainly coastal and island NGP, the choice of either of these transitivisers usually does not affect the meaning of the derived verbal, though it appears that differentiation of meaning is quite common in Highlands Pidgin as described by Wurm (1971a:29-36).

For the other varieties of NGP the meaning is generally the same, as in:

V + long	V + -im	Gloss
bihain long	bihainim	*'to follow'*
lukaut long	lukautim	*'to look after, hunt s.th.'*
puspus long	puspusim	*'to make love to s.o.'*
du long	duim	*'to entice, seduce'*
wet long	wetim	*'to wait for'*
was long	wasim	*'to watch'*
pret long	pretim	*'to be afraid of'*

[1] NGP pak has the same social status as English *'fuck'*, i.e. it is restricted to certain registers of speech. The taboo character of this item is illustrated by the fact that one of the reasons for the rejection of the proposed new name for Papua New Guinea, Pagini, was that it sounded too much like pakim mi *'fuck me'*.

Differences in meaning are restricted to a few instances, including:

V + long	Gloss	V + -im	Gloss
bilip long	*'to believe in'*	bilipim	*'to believe s.th.'*
win long	*'to win at'*	winim	*'to get the better of'*
wok long	*'to work at'*	wokim	*'to make'*

These then are the principal programs for the functional shift of intransitive verb bases. Other derivations from intransitive verb bases, such as the derivation of concrete nouns, are marginal in number and highly idiosyncratic with regard to their semantic properties (e.g. boil *'to be in violent movement, boil'* → boil *'scum, foam'*, surik *'to flinch back'* → surik *'back of human body'*).

5.3.4.2. Derivation from Transitive Verb Bases

The number of genuine transitive verb bases in NGP is relatively small and many of the forms traditionally listed as transitive verbs by virtue of the fact that they are never found without -im are transitive verbals derived from noun bases or causative verbals derived from adjective or intransitive verb bases. The principal transitive verb bases in NGP are:

askim	*'to ask'*	kilim	*'to hit, kill'*
baiim	*'to buy, pay'*[1]	kisim	*'to take, receive'*
bingim	*'to squeeze, press'*	larim	*'to let, allow'*
bringim	*'to take to'*	painim	*'to look for, find'*
givim	*'to give'*	salim	*'to sell, send'*
harim	*'to hear, obey'*	traiim	*'to try'*
karim	*'to carry, be parent of'*		

Only a few of these appear with the following program:

MF Program 23: $(V_{tr}$ + im) N_{abs} → pasin o wok bilong V_{tr}

'the mode or activity referred to by V_{tr}*'*

[1] The use of this verb in both meanings is still common in rural areas. However, many members of the younger generation are beginning to distinguish between peim *'to pay'* and baiim *'to buy'*. The semantic field of selling and buying in NGP is a particularly interesting one, and a more detailed investigation of the field properties of terms such as kostim *'to cost, to charge s.o.'* and dinau *'to borrow, to lend'* would be a highly interesting project.

Transitive verb base		Derived abstract nominal	
askim	*'to ask'*	askim	*'the question'*
helpim	*'to help'*	helpim	*'the help'*
mitim	*'to meet'*	mitim	*'the meeting'*
blesim	*'to bless'*	blesim	*'the blessing'*
traiim	*'to try, tempt'*	traiim	*'temptation'*
subim	*'to shove'*	subim	*'force, impact'*

Though derived verbals cannot normally become abstract nominals, there are exceptions such as bekim *'to cause to go back, return, answer'* - bekim *'answer, retaliation'*, which was possibly formed in analogy to askim *'to ask'* - askim *'question'*. A further discussion of the development of this program is found above (4.4.3.2.4.).

This concludes the discussion of programs of multifunctionality in NGP, i.e. those cases in which the change of grammatical category is accompanied by at least partly predictable semantic changes. Some changes outside this system, such as the shift from various lexical bases to prepositions and conjunctions, were discussed in the section on NGP's lexical expansion (4.4.2.3.2.).

5.4. COMPOUNDING AND FORMATION OF LEXICAL PHRASES

5.4.1. *INTRODUCTION*

Compounding and lexical phrase formation have received very little attention in earlier grammatical descriptions of NGP, and it is hardly worth discussing previous analyses here. The main objections against earlier treatments of word-formation, such as those by Hall (1943b and 1955a) have already been stated, both in Chapter 2 and in the discussion of MF in section 5.3.1. To recapitulate, they are objections to:

i) the treatment of lexical and syntactic processes as being different in size-level only

ii) the preoccupation with form-classes and the neglect of the semantic changes accompanying lexical derivation.

More principled discussion of the deficiencies of taxonomic treatments of compounding are given by Botha (1968:51-8) and Kempen (1969:4-30). Before presenting the various programs underlying the formation of compounds and lexical phrases in NGP, some descriptive problems need to be briefly discussed.

The principal difficulty in establishing classes of programs of compounding is that i) compounds are surface forms which can be related in many instances to more than one program, and ii) in a number of

instances the choice of programs makes little difference to the interpretation of a compound or lexical phrase.

Instances of type i) are cases such as pinistaim, which could be interpreted as being related to at least three programs, the interpretations being a) V_{int} = *'to complete one's indenture'*, b) N_{hum} = *'s.o. who has completed his indenture'*, and c) N_{abs} = *'time at which indenture comes to an end'*. Since a sentence of the kind em i pinistaim nau could be interpreted in any of these three ways, the author has chosen to multiply list such cases.

The opposite case is that where the semantic information contained in a compound could equally well be related to one or another lexical program as, for instance, sapston *'whetstone'* which could be understood as either ston i sap *'the stone is sharp'* or ston i mekim naip i sap *'the stone sharpens knives'*. Since the author does not know of any non-arbitrary criteria to decide this question, multiple listing is resorted to.[1]

Finally, multiple listing will also be used in those cases where the same semantic content is carried by lexical items of different size-level, as in:

NGP compound	Lexical Phrase	Gloss
banismeri	meri banis	*'boarding school girl'*
wokabautlam	lam wokabaut	*'hurricane lantern'*
stonmasis	masis ston	*'(benzine) lighter'*
muliwara	wara muli	*'lemonade'*
spakpasin	pasin spak	*'drunkenness'*

The subclassification of compounds and lexical phrases will depend on whether the resulting compounds or phrases are nominal or verbal lexical items.

5.4.2. *NOMINAL COMPOUNDS*

It appears that the provision of new names for objects, i.e. of new nominal lexical items, has been the principal function of compounding in NGP ever since its earliest development. Perhaps the simplest[2] case of nominal compounding is that of 'cumulative' compounds, where the meanings of the two components are added as in:

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[1] As has been pointed out in section 2.6.2., discrepancies in interpretation can be expected and assignment to a single program would fail to adequately characterise a number of instances of lexical derivation.

[2] This case is not historically the earliest, however.

CP Program 1: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N \rightarrow N_1$ na N_2

'N_1 *and* N_2'

The compounds accounted for by this program consist of two noun bases which share certain semantic features. English very often has a single term expressing the shared semantic properties of the NGP compound, e.g. papamama *'parents'*, lekhan *'limbs'* and manmeri *'people'*.

Though the author has found this type of compound to be frequently used in Rural Pidgin, no items other than papamama *'parents'* and manmeri *'people'* are listed in existing vocabularies and dictionaries of NGP. However, the fact that the sequence of the elements is fixed for most examples, that they are pronounced with single main stress on the first syllable, and that the meaning is not always predictable from the components, clearly demonstrates that they should be listed in future dictionaries. Examples recorded by the author include:

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
banarasupia	*'bow and spears'*	*'bow and arrows'*
bratasusa	*'siblings of same and opposite sex'*	*'brothers and sisters'*
graslip	*'grass and leaves'*	*'grass and leaves, kindling'*
grisbata	*'grease and butter'*	*'fat (in general)'*
mitpis	*'meat and fish'*	*'viands'*
yammami	*'small and big yams'*	*'yam varieties'*
buaidaka	*'betel-chew and pepper'*	*'requisites for betelnut chewing'*
hanlek	*'arms and legs'*	*'limbs'*
kambangdaka	*'lime and pepper'*	*'"side-dishes" for betelnut chewing'*
kaunsilkomiti	*'councillor and second in charge'*	*'the village council executive'*
lekhan	*'legs and arms'*	*'limbs'*
luluaitultul	*'first and second in charge of village'*	*'the people appointed by the government to look after village affairs'*
meripikinini	*'women and children'*	*'a man's dependants'*
mastamisis	*'European men and women'*	*'Europeans of both sexes'*
manmeri	*'men and women'*	*'people'*
naiptamiok	*'knife and axe'*	*'tools for cutting'*
pisinpaul	*'birds and fowls'*	*'all sorts of birds'*
ritrait	*'reading and writing'*	*'skills learnt at school'*
susoks or susoken	*'shoes and socks'*	*'footwear'*

The translation of the above items - if considered outside the context in which they appear - is often awkward. Therefore, the use of these compounds will be illustrated with a few examples:

NGP	Gloss
man i lapun olgeta, LEKHAN bilong en indai	*'this man is very old; he is no longer able to make proper use of his limbs'*
meri i wari tru long MANIKINA na olgeta samting	*'the girls are really obsessed with their brideprice (money shells and other things)'*
yu mas putim SUSOKEN bilong yu	*'you have to wear shoes and socks'*

CP Program 2: (adj + N) N → sampela samting/man i adj
's.th./s.o. that has the characteristics of adj*'*

This program has accounted for a number of additions to the lexicon of NGP in the many years of its existence, and new items are still being added. Lexical items at both word- and phrase-level are found, and in some instances items at both levels can be used interchangeably. Whilst the adjective suffix -pela is dropped with word-level compounds, it is preserved in phrase-level items. The semantic information of lexical items provided by this program typically differs from that of related syntactic constructions in that "the meaning is almost always different from that of the two component elements, being a transferred or extended meaning" (Hall 1943b:22). Of the examples listed here many were recorded for the first time by the present author. First, word-level items will be considered:

NGP	Meaning of related syntactic phrase	Lexical meaning
bikbol	*'big testicles'*	*'elephantiasis'*
bikbus	*'big bush'*	*'jungle'*
bikdua	*'big door'*	*'gate'*
bikgan	*'big gun'*	*'cannon'*
bikgraun	*'big ground'*	*'New Guinea mainland'*
bikhangre	*'big hunger'*	*'famine'*
bikmasta	*'big European'*	*'man of authority'*
biknem	*'big name'*	*'generic term'*
bikples	*'big place'*	i) *'town (Rabaul)'* ii) *'mainland'*
biknait	*'big night'*	*'(hours around) midnight'*
bikrum	*'big room'*	*'saloon, main room'*
biksan	*'big sun'*	*'hours around midday'*
biksande	*'big Sunday'*	*'feast'*
biksolwara	*'big sea'*	*'open sea'*
blaksos	*'black sauce'*	*'any dark sauce (e.g. Worcester sauce)'*
blulang	*'blue fly'*	*'March fly'*

NGP	Meaning of related syntactic phrase	Lexical meaning
bluston	*'blue stone'*	*'copper sulphate, antiseptic'*
draiabus	*'dry meat'*	*'smoked meat'*
draibisket	*'dry biscuit'*	*'navy biscuit'*
draipis	*'dry fish'*	*'smoked fish'*
draiwara	*'dry water'*	*'low water, ebb'*[1]
daunpasin	*'down fashion'*	*'humility'*
daunwara	*'down river'*	*'deep place in a river'*
grinsnel	*'green snail'*	*'Manus greensnail'*
gutnem	*'good name'*	*'good reputation'*
gutnius	*'good news'*	*'gospel'*
gutponde	*'good Thursday'*	*'Easter Thursday'*
gutpraide	*'good Friday'*	*'Good Friday'*
guttaim	*'good time'*	*'peace'*
hatgris	*'hot grease'*	*'poultice'*
hatlaip	*'hard life'*	*'hard life, toil'*
hatwara	*'hot water'*	*'soup'*
kolwara	*'cold water'*	*'cooled water'*
kolwin	*'cold wind'*	*'sea wind'*
lasde	*'last day'*	*'doomsday'*
lastoktok	*'last talk'*	*'farewell speech'*
longsia	*'long chair'*	*'easy chair'*
olgel	*'old girl'*	*'crone'*
pulman	*'full man'*	*'he-man'*
pulwik	*'full week'*	*'pay week'*
rabiswik	*'rubbish week'*	*'week other than pay week'*
raunbin	*'round bean'*	*'pea'* (Highlands)
raunwara	*'round water'*	*'lake'*
raunwin	*'round wind'*	*'cyclone'*
retsos	*'red sauce'*	*'tomato ketchup'*
sapston	*'sharp stone'*	*'whetstone'*
smolbis	*'small beads'*	*'small beads'*
smolhaus	*'small house'*	*'toilet'*
smolmama	*'small mother'*	*'stepmother'*
smolnaip	*'small knife'*	*'pocketknife'*
smolpapa	*'small father'*	*'stepfather'*
triyia	*'three years'*	*'contract for plantation'*
wetliva	*'white liver'*	*'lung'*

[1] Less common is the meaning *'huge water = sea'*, related to the paraphrase draipela wara *'huge water'*. It was found in use in the Dreikikir area of the East Sepik Province. Other compounds with wara *'water, river'* include kliawara *'quiet sea'*, raunwara *'lake'*, haiwara *'high tide, flood'*, and solwara *'sea'*.

Lexical items at phrase-level are found with attributive adjectives which either precede or follow the noun (cf. 4.4.3.2.4.). The origin of these phrases is clearly syntactic; however, various degrees of lexicalisation of meaning can be observed with the members of this group. Some instances, such as bikpela pato *'big duck'* for *'swan'* (cf. Friederici 1911:102), are clearly *ad hoc* devices whereas others, such as longpela pik *'human flesh'*, are firmly established members of the lexicon. Cases in which the adjective precedes the noun base include:

NGP	Meaning of related syntactic phrase	Lexical meaning
arapela mama	*'other mother'*	*'foster mother'*
bikpela hama	*'big hammer'*	*'sledge hammer'*
bikpela indulgensia	*'big indulgence'*	*'plenary indulgence'*
bikpela san	*'big sun'*	*'drought, heat'*
blupela pis	*'blue fish'*	*'parrot fish'*
grinpela man	*'green man'*	*'green bottle of beer'*
liklik blakbokis	*'little flying fox'*	*'bat'*
liklik dokta	*'little doctor'*	*'medical assistant'*
liklik rat	*'little rat'*	*'mouse'*
liklik star	*'little star'*	*'fire-fly'*
longpela pik	*'long pig'*	*'human flesh'*
retpela pis	*'red fish'*	*'bass'*
strongpela sua	*'strong sore'*	*'framboesia'*
switpela kaikai	*'sweet food'*	*'dessert'*
waitpela kapul	*'white possum'*	*'European'*
waitpela blut	*'white blood'*	*'pus'*

Also belonging to this group are cases of ordinal numbers preceding nominals to indicate varieties or species of animals and plants. This method of establishing folk taxonomies has been discussed in subsection 4.4.3.1.

Cases of lexical phrases involving postponed attribute adjective bases include:

NGP	Meaning of related syntactic phrase	Lexical meaning
buk tambu	*'book taboo'*	*'Bible'*
de bihain	*'day after'*	*'last day, doomsday'*
gras nogut	*'grass bad'*	*'weed'*
kaikai bihain	*'food after'*	*'dessert'*
klaut nogut	*'sky bad'*	*'rainclouds'*
kus stret	*'cough straight'*	*'cough (i.e. not sneeze)'*
tebol tambu	*'table taboo'*	*'altar'*
wik tambu	*'week taboo'*	*'Holy Week'*

CP Program 3: (adj + N_1) N_2 → N_2 i gat adj + N_1

'N_2 *has (got)* adj + N_1'

Whilst the surface structure of compounds and lexical phrases related to the present program is the same as that of lexical items related to CP Program 2, its interpretation differs in that it refers to a person or object having a certain property such as referred to by adj + N. The semantic information of this type of compound is difficult to predict, since N_2, which provides much of this information, does not appear in the surface structure. First, lexical items at word-level will be considered.

NGP	Related paraphrase with N_2 specified	Gloss
bikbel	i) man i gat bikpela bel	i) *'fat person'*
	ii) abus i gat bikpela bel	ii) *'(water) buffalo'*
bikbol	man i gat bikpela bol	*'bandy-legged or clumsy person'*
bikhet	man i gat bikpela het	*'stubborn person'*
bikmaus	i) man i gat bikpela maus	i) *'impudent person'*
	ii) gan i gat bikpela maus	ii) *'twelve gauge shotgun'*
	iii) pis i gat bikpela maus	iii) *'cod (fish)'*
blaklip	kina i gat blakpela lip	*'black leaf (shell)'*
blakskin[1]	man i gat blakpela skin	*'a black-skinned person, native of Buka or Bougainville'*
guthet	man i gat gutpela het	*'good thinker'*
paipkona	pikinini bilong diwai i gat faivpela kona	*'carambola fruit'*
plantihan	binatang i gat planti han	*'centipede'*
retskin	man i gat retpela skin	*'inhabitant of New Guinea mainland'* (used by the dark Buka and Bougainville islanders)
sikiswil[2]	kar i gat sikispela wil	*'heavy lorry'*
smolmaus	gan i gat smolpela maus	*'small shotgun'*
tulip	diwai i gat tupela tupela lip	*'tree with paired edible leaves'*
tumas	sip i gat tupela mas	*'two-masted vessel'*
tumaus	gan i gat tupela maus	*'double barrelled shotgun'*

[1]The item blakskin can refer to either any *'person with black skin'* or, more specifically, the inhabitants of Buka and Bougainville Island, in contrast with peoples from other parts of Papua New Guinea who are known as retskin *'red skins'*. For the difference between the items blakskin and blakman the reader is referred to Hall (1955a:56).

[2]The item powil, on the other hand, refers to a *'four-wheel drive vehicle'* or to *'four-wheel drive'* as in putim long powil *'to engage four-wheel drive'*. Notes on names for vehicles and parts of vehicles are given by Dutton (1973:53 and 213-26) and Brash (1971:13-14).

NGP	Related paraphrase with N_2 specified	Gloss
tuwin	balus i gat tupela win	*'biplane'*
twelvstori	haus i gat twelvpela stori	*'highrise building in Port Moresby (ANG Building)'*
wanai	man i gat wanpela ai tasol	*'one-eyed person'*
wanlek	man i gat wanpela lek tasol	*'one-legged person'*
wanwin	balus i gat wanpela win	*'monoplane'*
wetgras	man i gat wetpela gras	*'old person'*
wethat	man i gat wetpela hat	*'paramount luluai'*
wetpus	man i gat wetpela pus	*'paramount chief'*
wetskin	man i gat wetpela skin	*'European'*

At phrase-level, the following examples were recorded:

NGP	Related paraphrase	Gloss
draipela bun	man i gat draipela bun	*'able-bodied person'*
longpela maus	pis i gat longpela maus	*'garfish'*
longpela nek	pisin i gat longpela nek	*'heron'*
longpela tel	binatang i gat longpela tel	*'edible mollusc'*
as malomalo	man i gat as malomalo	*'decrepit person'*

Whilst the semantic properties of the deleted N_2 are unpredictable in most of the cases just mentioned, there is a group of compounds belonging to CP Program 3 which exhibit a much more regular change in semantic information, i.e. compounds of the type wanhaus *'s.o. sharing the same house'*, wanskin *'s.o. having the same skin'*. This subtype is highly productive and there are indications that wan - in this construction could be regarded as a prefix preceding not only noun bases but also derived abstract nouns, as in wantok *'s.o. with the same talk, language'*, or wanwok *'s.o. sharing the same work'*. The semantic property shared by most of the following items is that of solidarity.

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
wanbel	*'same womb'*	i) *'twin'*
	'same opinion'	ii) *'s.o. of the same opinion'*
wanbet	*'same bed'*	i) *'s.o. from the same clan'*
		ii) *'bedmate'*
wanskul	*'one school'*	*'schoolmate'*
wanmisin	*'one mission'*	*'s.o. of same denomination'*
wantumbuna	*'one ancestor'*	*'relative'*
wanblut	*'same blood'*	*'blood relative'*
wandistrik	*'same district'*	*'s.o. from the same district'*

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
wanhaus	*'same house'*	*'s.o. living in the same house, whether adopted or related'*
wankaikai	*'same food'*	*'messmate'*
wankantri	*'same country'*	*'fellow countryman'*
wanlain	*'same group'*	*'s.o. of the same class, age, or rank'*
wanmak	*'same size'*	*'s.o. or s.th. of the same size'*
wannem	*'same name'*	*'namesake'*
wanpasin	*'same manners'*	*'s.o. having the same customs and attitudes'*
wanpes	*'same face'*	*'s.o. of the same appearance'*
wanpilai	*'same play'*	*'playmate'*
wanpisin	*'same tribe'*	*'fellow tribesman'*
wanples	*'same place'*	*'s.o. from the same village'*
wanpulpul	*'same grass skirt'*	*'s.o. sharing the same woman'*
wanrot	*'same road'*	*'fellow traveller, s.o. who has been through the same experiences'*
wanskin	*'same skin'*	*'s.o. having the same skin colour'*
wansmok	*'same smoke'*	*'s.o. sharing a smoke with s.o.'*
wansol	*'same soul'*	*'intimate friend'*
wansolwara[1]	*'same sea'*	*'fellow Pacific Islander'*
wansospen	*'same saucepan'*	*'messmate'*
wanspun	*'same spoon'*	*'messmate, intimate friend'*
wantok[2]	*'same talk'*	*'s.o. speaking the same language, s.o. from the same country'*
wanwok	*'same work'*	*'workmate'*

CP Program 4: $(V_{int} + N)\ N \rightarrow N$ i save V_{int}

'N usually does'

The nominal compounds and lexical noun phrases related to this program indicate 'a N whose habitual action is referred to by V'. A large number of these items contain the noun man or meri *'man'* or *'woman'*, and it has been pointed out by Hall (1943b:21) and others that these nouns "used in this kind of compound have almost the function of suffixes forming nomina agentis." However, lexical items of this type exhibit a number of

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[1]This item is a recent addition. It illustrates the relaxation of the constraint which bars word-level items consisting of more than two morphemes. Another recent innovation which overrules this restruction is wanhausasembli *'s.o. sharing the same central government'*.

[2]As a form of address this item has lost its positive connotation of solidarity in some areas, and instead signals to the addressee that he is expected to provide a drink, a smoke or money. If disinclined, he will answer, husat i wantok bilong yu? *'who is your mate?'*.

idiosyncrasies, both with regard to semantic changes and to their phonological form. Concerning the latter, Wurm (1971a:9) has observed that the choice between compounding and phrase formation is "lexically determined and its listing a dictionary matter."

However, a few regularities can be pointed out, the first being that intransitive verb bases of more than one syllable tend to result in lexical phrases of the kind man bilong singsing *'s.o. performing traditional dances'* rather than word-level compounds such as *singsingman. Second, intransitive verb bases which can be functionally shifted to transitive verbals also appear to favour a lexical phrase, which accounts for forms such as man bilong pait *'a fighter, warrior'*, or man bilong spet *'s.o. who spits, s.o. who performs sorcery'*. However, in fluent second-language NGP these tendencies appear to be gradually overruled by the much stronger tendency towards downwards shifting of size-level in the formation of lexical items. The following word-level compounds were recorded:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
dripman	*'drift man'*	*'vagabond, tramp'*
hangreman	*'hungry man'*	*'undernourished person'*
kamman	*'come man'*	*'new arrival, expatriate'*
laipman	*'alive man'*	*'mortal being'*
lusman	*'lost man'*	*'loser, angry young man'*
makston	*'mark stone'*	*'stone marker'*
mumutboi	*'scavenge boy'*	*'dustman, garbage collector'*
plaisip	*'fly ship'*	*'zeppelin'*
pretman	*'afraid man'*	*'coward'*
pulman	*'pull man'*	*'a sponger'*
seksekbris	*'shake bridge'*	*'suspension bridge'*
seksekmeri	*'shake girl'*	*'sexy girl'*
sinman	*'sin man'*	*'sinner'*
slekman	*'slack man'*	*'slack person'*
sutboi	*'shoot boy'*	*'indigenous man trained to use firearms or dynamite'*
stilpisin	*'steal bird'*	*'predatory bird, hawk'*
wasman	*'watch man'*	*'church elder, herdsman'*
wasmama	*'watch mother'*	*'foster mother'*
welpusi	*'wild cat'*	*'a cat that has gone bush'*

The following two sentences, both found in readers' letters to *Wantok* newspaper, illustrate two innovations following this program, both involving a relaxation of the restrictions just mentioned:

NGP	Gloss
yu i wanpela HAITMAN tasol olsem na yu raitim kainkain nem bilong yu bai i hait gut	*'you are a sneaky customer and use all sorts of pseudonyms so your real identity remains hidden'*
ol lain BILIPMAN bilong God, ol i bihainim lo bilongen	*'the believers in God respect his laws'*

Both word-level and phrase-level items were found with man bilong pait - paitman *'warrior, fighter'*, man bilong slip - slipman *'sleepy person'* and man bilong tok - tokman *'spokesman'*, whilst phrase-level items only were found with:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
man bilong singaut	*'man of shouting'*	*'noisy person, beggar'*
man bilong gohet	*'man of advancing'*	*'innovator'*
man bilong driman	*'man of dreaming'*	*'dreamer'*

A second type of lexical phrase structure, apparently resulting from Tolai influence,[1] is found in man save *'knowledgeable person'* which has now been replaced by saveman, however.

CP Program 5: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_2 \rightarrow N_2$ i N_1

'N_2 *is* N_1'

'Equative' compounds involving two noun bases are found at both word- and phrase-level. Examples on record at word-level are:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
bosboi	*'a boy who is boss'*	*'bossboy'*
boskuki	*'a cook who is boss'*	*'chief steward'*
bodiman	*'a man who is a body'*	*'walking body'*
develman	*'a man who is a devil'*	*'troublemaker'*
doktaboi	*'a 'boy' who is a doctor'*	*'indigenous medical orderly'*
golmoni	*'money which is gold'*	*'piece of gold'*
haitenman	*'a man who is a heathen'*	*'heathen'*
hanbeng	*'a bank which is a branch'*	*'branch of a bank'*
hanrot	*'a road which is a branch'*	*'side track, path'*
hetman	*'a man who is a head'*	*'spirit, consisting of a head only'*[2]
kondamani	*'money which is paper'*	*'paper money'*
lipti	*'tea which is leaves'*	*'tea leaves'*

[1] Brenninkmeyer (1924:10), however, ascribes this form to the incomplete mastery of NGP by some of his Baining informants.

[2] Note that the more common meaning of hetman is *'headman, chief'* (cf. CP Program 13).

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
pasindiamasta	*'a European who is a passenger'*	*'tourist'*
pauramilk	*'milk which is powder'*	*'powdered milk'*
samonpepa	*'a paper which is a summons'*	*'summons'*

A noun base figuring prominently in this program is as[1] *'arse, reason, origin'*, which is increasingly used as a kind of prefix indicating *'original, genuine, etc.'* and is combined with both noun bases and derived abstract nouns. Some instances are:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
aslo	*'original law'*	*'constitution'*
astok	*'original talk'*	*'premise'*
astingting	*'original thought'*	*'reason'*
asples	*'original place'*	*'home village'*
aslaik	*'original desire'*	*'individual preference'*

The following sentences illustrate the introduction of a number of new compounds involving as:

NGP	Gloss
husat tru i ASMAN tru bilong kirapim dispela tok	*'who is the INVENTOR of this expression'*
diksineri bilong Pater Mihalic em i ASBUK tru bilong Tok Pisin	*'Father Mihalic's dictionary is the standard reference book for Tok Pisin'*
yumi laik painim tupela ASNEM bilong mani olsem i bilong kantri na pipel bilong yumi stret	*'we want to find two names for currency units reflecting that this money is used in our country by our people'*

Phrase-level lexical items are found mainly with a number of first component nominals, such as tok *'a talk'*, wok *'activity'*, and with the second component nominals man and meri indicating sex differences.

The use of these nominals is reminiscent of that of nominal classifiers in a number of New Guinea area languages. Examples of this type of lexical phrase are:

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[1] As a result of the reinterpretation of English phonology a number of English items are realised as as in NGP. Because of shared semantic properties they are thought of as being a single item in this language. Compare:

English	NGP
'ARCHbishop'	ASbisop
'ASH Wednesday'	AStrinde
'YESterday'	AStete

cf. also subsection 4.3.2.3.

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
tok gumi	*'rubber talk'*	*'tall tale'*
tok bilas	*'decorative talk'*	*'mockery, insult'*
tok trik	*'trick talk'*	*'verbal trickery'*
tok pipia	*'rubbish talk'*	*'worthless talk'*
tok win	*'wind talk'*	*'idle tales, rumours'*
wok bembe	*'sorcery work'*	*'cargo cult sorcery'*
wok bisnis	*'business work'*	*'business activity'*

The use of the nouns man and meri to indicate sex differences, as in wido man *'widower'* versus wido meri *'widow'*, has already been discussed in subsection 4.3.3.4. Other examples of items at phrase level include:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
ensel wasman	*'angel watchman'*	*'guardian angel'*
haus stua	*'house store'*	*'store'*
haus skul	*'house school'*	*'schoolhouse'*
kinin kiau	*'quinine egg'*	*'quinine tablet'*
kinin wara	*'quinine water'*	*'liquid quinine'*
mani ain	*'money iron'*	*'metal money, coins'*
plasta simen	*'plaster cement'*	*'plaster of Paris'*
sak birua	*'shark enemy'*	*'man-eating shark'*
sak pis	*'shark fish'*	*'shark that doesn't eat men'*
skul anka	*'school anchor'*	*'base school (standard 7 and 8)'*
sik lepa	*'sickness leprosy'*	*'leprosy'*
sik malaria	*'sickness malaria'*	*'malaria'*
ston gol	*'stone gold'*	*'gold nugget'*

Again, the use of sik in the above examples reminds one of the use of nominal classifiers. The conditions underlying their use in NGP differ from those in English in significant ways. Thus, whilst English can optionally add the noun *'tree'* to names of trees, as in the pairs *'oak - oak tree'*, *'ash - ash tree'*, this is not permitted in NGP, thus disallowing forms such as *kokonas diwai or *diwai kokonas. Instead, NGP uses a convention which states that the lexical item used to refer to a tree can also be used to refer to the fruit growing on a tree, as in bata *'avocado tree'* or *'avocado pear'*, kopi *'coffee bush'* or *'coffee beans'* and muli *'lime tree'* or *'lime'*.[1]

[1]Speakers of Tok Masta often ignore this convention. Consequently one finds forms such as stroberi bus *'strawberry bush'* in Balint's dictionary (1969:46) or kokonas tri *'coconut tree'* in a poem quoted by Hall (1943b:83).

CP Program 6: $(V_{tr} + N_1)\ N_2 \rightarrow N_2$ i save $V_{tr} + N_1$

'N_2 *usually does s.th. with* N_1'

The meaning of these word level compounds is 's.o. or s.th. does what is referred to by the verb phrase'. Two sub-programs can be distinguished: dependent on whether the transitivity marker -im is preserved or not. Only a few examples of the former type were found:

NGP	Related paraphrase	Gloss
baiimboi	masta i baiim boi	*'recruiter'*
pakimas	man i pakim as	*'pedicator, bugger'*
tanimtok	man i tanim tok	*'translator'*

Compounds without -im include:

NGP	Related paraphrase	Gloss
opbotol	samting bilong opim botol	*'bottle opener'*
optin	samting bilong opim tin	*'tin opener'*
pinistaim	man i pinisim taim	*'a worker whose contract has finished'*
savetok	man bilong save tok bilong narapela man/Tok Pisin	*'interpreter'* (Murphy 1966: 49), *'s.o. who understands and speaks NGP'* (Reed 1943: 287)
wetkot	man i wetim kot	*'one who is awaiting trial'*

This program is of very low productivity possibly because it is suppletive to other programs of compounding providing names for people (such as CP Program 4).

CP Program 7: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_2 \rightarrow$ ol i wokim N_2 long N_1

'N_2 *is made of/with* N_1'

The compounds or lexical phrases accounted for by this program refer to objects typically made out of a certain material. The choice between word-level and phrase-level constructions is determined by two principal factors: a) the speaker's knowledge of English, and b) his age. Word-level items are found most commonly among younger speakers and those with a knowledge of English. Among these groups the following items were recorded:

NGP	Gloss
morotahaus	*'house constructed of palm leaves, native type house'*
pepamani	*'paper money'*
planggan	*'wooden gun (as used by children in war games)'*
selbet	*'canvas stretcher'*
waiabanis	*'fence made out of wire'*

More commonly used are lexical phrases such as:

NGP	Gloss
bokis ain	*'(metal) patrol box'*
bokis plang	*'wooden box, crate'*
haus kapa	*'corrugated iron building, iron roofed house'*
haus morota	*'house constructed of palm leaves'*
haus sel	*'tent'*
haus simen	*'concrete building, prison'*
paip diwai	*'wooden pipe (for smoking)'*
paip plet	*'clay pipe'*
paip simen[1]	*'clay pipe'*
paus kanda	*'cane suitcase'*
paus pepa	*'paper bag'*
rot ain	*'railway'*
rot gumi	*'conveyor belt'*
rot kolta	*'tarred road'*
sospen plet	*'china pan'*
spia botol	*'obsidian spear'*
su sel	*'canvas shoes'*

A number of lexical items listed here could also be interpreted in terms of Program 5, for instance, golmani *'money which is gold'* or *'money made from gold'*.

CP Program 8: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_2 \rightarrow N_2$ i gat N_1

'N_2 *has/possesses* N_1'

This program provides the names for items of the type N_2 whose property is to have N_1 as either an alienable or inalienable part. Lexical items are found at both word- and phrase-levels. The following items at word-level were recorded:

NGP	Gloss
bisnismasta	*'European with a business'*
loman	*'man with good manners'*[2]
maselman	*'a strong, muscular man'*
nilpis	*'a scorpion fish'*

[1] Older speakers often pronounce this form as paip smel. Smel in this phrase can mean either *'good smell'* or *'cement'*.

[2] Lo in NGP not only means *'law'* but also *'good manners, acceptable behaviour, generosity'*. It is one of the few genuine abstract noun bases in NGP.

NGP	Gloss
senkar	*'bulldozer, caterpillar'*
sopis	*'sawfish'*
wilkar	*'wheelbarrow'*

Higher-level items belonging to this program include:

NGP	Gloss
bet waia	*'bed with wire springs'*
mumut i gat nil	*'spiny anteater'*
naip skru	*'pocket knife (with cork screw)'*
sip sel	*'sailing boat'*
snek i gat han	*'centipede'*

CP Program 9: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_2 \rightarrow N_2$ i $\{^{\text{kamap long}}_{\text{bilong}}\}\ N_1$

'N_2 *originates from/is part of* N_1'

N_2 in lexical items belonging to this program refer parts, of or properties closely associated with, N_1.

Items at word-level were rarely documented, the only ones found in Rural Pidgin being pikgris *'pork fat, lard'*, and pisingras *'feathers'*.

The majority of items are found at phrase-level, either as juxtapositions of the form N_2+N_1 or in the construction N_2 bilong N_1. Here follows a list of the items found; a separate list illustrating the use of such items in a single semantic field, that of body parts, will also be provided.

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
ai bilong pensil	*'eye of pencil'*	*'pencil point'*
bel bilong plang	*'belly of plank'*	*'warp in timber'*
bak trausis	*'bag trousers'*	*'trouser pocket'*
bun bilong pis	*'bone of fish'*	*'fish-bone'*
hat tultul	*'hat tultul'*	*'hat of a tultul'*
kapa bilong let	*'metal of belt'*	*'buckle'*
nus pensil	*'nose pencil'*	*'pencil point'*
pasin haiten	*'fashion pagan'*	*'paganism'*
pasin kanaka	*'fasion kanaka'*	*'uncivilised behaviour'*
plet bilong kanaka	*'plate of kanaka'*	*'wooden plate'*
tit dok	*'teeth dog'*	*'dog's teeth'*

The construction involving bilong often has the character of an unstable circumlocution rather than that of a stable lexical item. Since new names are readily created by means of this program, no exhaustive list can be given. However, the following table illustrates the use of

lexical phrases belonging to this program in providing names for parts of the human body:[1]

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
ai bilong susu	*'eye of breast'*	*'nipple'*
arere bilong maus	*'border of mouth'*	*'lip'*
bel bilong lek	*'belly of leg/foot'*	*'sole'*
bel bilong han	*'belly of hand/arm'*	*'palm'*
bun bilong baksait	*'bone of back'*	*'spine'*
kapa (bilong) pinga	*'metal of finger'*	*'fingernail'*
kapa bilong lek	*'metal of leg'*	*'toenail'*
nus bilong susu	*'nose of breast'*	*'nipple'*
pinga bilong lek	*'finger of foot/leg'*	*'toe'*
skru bilong han	*'screw of hand/arm'*	*'wrist; elbow'*
skru bilong lek	*'screw of leg/foot'*	*'knee; ankle'*
windo bilong ai	*'window of eye'*	*'cornea'*

CP Program 10: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_2 \rightarrow N_2$ bilong V + im N_1

'N_2 *is used in* V + N_1'

This program involves two nouns whose relation to one another is to be interpreted by reference to a paraphrase involving a transitive verb which does not appear in the surface structure of related lexical items. Though a number of recurring semantic properties, such as *'keep away'* and *'support'*, are present in the deleted verbs, this does not mean that derived semantic information is fully predictable. Thus, for each item, a paraphrase containing the verb most likely[2] to figure in the interpretation of these lexical items will be provided. Lexical items appearing with this program are found at both word-level and phrase-level, with a few items, such as tiwaia versus waia ti *'tea strainer'*, found at both levels. Items at word-level include:

NGP	Related paraphrase	Translation of paraphrase	Gloss
busnaip	naip bilong katim bus	*'knife to cut bush'*	*'bushknife'*
kolsiot	siot bilong rausim kol	*'shirt for keeping away cold'*	*'sweater'*

[1] It should be noted, however, that the culturally and perceptually more important body parts are referred to by simple lexical bases such as lek *'leg, foot'* and het *'head'*.

[2] More remarks on the theoretical aspects of this are given by Lees (1970:183). Many of the verbs given in the paraphrases here stem from observations about the teaching of NGP compounds to adult learners of this language in the plantation context.

NGP	Related paraphrase	Translation of paraphrase	Gloss
kusmarasin	marasin bilong rausim kus	*'medicine for removing colds and coughs'*	*'cough medicine'*
pislain	lain bilong hukim pis	*'line for catching fish'*	*'fishingline'*
pauapos	pos bilong holim paua	*'post for supporting powerlines'*	*'pole to support power lines, pylon'*
renkot	kot bilong pasim ren	*'coat for keeping out the rain'*	*'raincoat'*
stingmarasin	marasin bilong rausim sting	*'medicine for removing infections'*	*'disinfectant'*
tiwaia	waia bilong kapsaitim ti	*'wire for pouring tea'*	*'tea strainer'*
sanglas	glas bilong pasim san	*'glass for keeping away the sun'*	*'sunglasses'*
winglas	glas bilong pasim win	*'glass for keeping out the wind'*	*'windscreen'*
plaiwaia	waia bilong pasim plai	*'wire for keeping out the flies'*	*'flyscreen'*

Phrase-level items take the form of juxtaposed and individually stressed nouns with a sequence which is the reverse of that of word-level items. Examples include:

NGP	Related paraphrase	Translation of paraphrase	Gloss
naip kopra	naip bilong katim kopra	*'knife for cutting copra'*	*'copra knife'*
bokis musik	bokis bilong kirapim musik	*'box for making music'*	*'gramophone'*
gris kaskas	gris bilong rausim kaskas	*'grease for removing scabies'*	*'sulphur ointment'*
gan pisin	gan bilong sutim pisin	*'gun for shooting birds'*	*'small gun'*
haus lait	haus bilong kirapim lait	*'house for generating light'*	*'power station'*
abus let	abus bilong klinim let	*'accessory for cleaning leather'*	*'shoe polish'*
klos misa	klos bilong mekim misa	*'clothes to be worn for mass'*	*'vestment'*
kot ren	kot bilong pasim ren	*'coat for keeping out rain'*	*'raincoat'*

CP Program 11: $(V + N_1)\ N_1 \rightarrow N_1$ bilong V (+ im N_2)

'N_1 *used for doing s.th. (to* N_2*)*'

This program accounts for nominal compounds and phrases referring to objects or localities used for a particular purpose, expressed by its verbal component. Whilst most of the verb bases are intransitive, some

verb bases appearing with items at phrase-level are transitive and require the additional specification of the deleted N_2. Examples of word-level compounds include:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
praipan	*'fry pan'*	*'frying-pan'*
washaus	*'wash house'*	*'outbuilding for washing'*
statpos	*'start post'*	*'post which holds roof in position'*
wokabautlam	*'walk lamp'*	*'hurricane lantern'*
sutlam	*'shoot lamp'*	*'lamp for shooting, torch'*

The following items at phrase-level involve intransitive verb bases:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
glas lukluk	*'glass look'*	*'looking-glass, mirror'*
haus kuk	*'house cook'*	*'kitchen'*
haus kaikai	*'house eat'*	*'dining-room'*
haus kivung	*'house assemble'*	*'assembly hall'*
haus pekpek	*'house defecate'*	*'toilet'*
klos slip	*'clothes sleep'*	*'pyjamas'*
lam wokabaut	*'lamp walk'*	*'hurricane lantern'*
ples pilai	*'place play'*	*'playground'*
rum kaikai	*'room eat'*	*'dining-room'*
rum slip	*'room sleep'*	*'bedroom'*
rum wet	*'room wait'*	*'waiting-room'*

The following phrase-level items involve transitive verb bases:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
haus karim	*'house give birth to'*	*'birth hut, maternity ward'*
haus kilim	*'house kill'*	*'abattoir, slaughter house'*
haus katim man	*'house cut man'*	*'surgery'*

CP Program 12: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_2 \rightarrow N_2\ N_1$ i save stap longen

'N_2 *where* N_1 *is usually found*'

The lexical items related to this program refer to containers or objects which typically contain what is expressed by N_1. In Rural Pidgin, items at phrase-level are the norm, though some word-level items were found to be used by members of the younger generation. The latter include:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
bensinmasis	*'benzine matches'*	*'benzine lighter'*
inkpen	*'ink pen'*	*'ink pen, fountain pen'*
kaslam	*'gas lamp'*	*'pressure lamp'*
kaubanis[1]	*'cow fence'*	*'cattle pen'*
letabokis	*'letter box'*	*'letterbox'*
melbek	*'mail bag'*	*'mailbag'*
plakmas	*'flag mast'*	*'flagpole'*
sospen	*'sauce pan'*	*'saucepan'*
susukep	*'breast cap'*	*'brassiere'*
tipot	*'tea pot'*	*'teapot'*
winmasis	*'wind matches'*	*'gas lighter'*

Whilst some items, such as melbek - bek mel *'mailbag'* and bensinmasis - masis bensin, are found at both word- and phrase-level, most items following this program are phrase-level items taking the form of a juxtaposition of N_2 N_1 as in:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
baket pipia	*'bucket dirt'*	*'trash-can, dustbin'*
banis bulmakau	*'fence cow'*	*'cattle pen, paddock'*
banis susu	*'fence breast'*	*'brassiere'*
bek mel	*'bag mail'*	*'mailbag'*
bokis ais	*'box ice'*	*'refrigerator'*
bokis kaikai	*'box food'*	*'crib, stomach, food-safe'*
haus balus	*'house aeroplane'*	*'hangar'*
haus bet	*'house bed'*	*'bedroom'*
haus blanket	*'house blanket'*	*'blanket store'*
haus boi	*'house boy'*	*'house for males, club house'*
haus drai	*'house copra'*	*'copra drier'*
haus garamut	*'house slitgong'*	*'ceremonial house'*
haus leder	*'house leather'*	*'shoemaker's store'*
haus paiaman	*'house caretaker of fire'*	*'copra drier'*
haus pik	*'house pig'*	i) *'pigsty'* ii) *'hut inhabited by pigs and humans'* (Highlands)
haus sak	*'house bags'*	*'storeroom for copra bags'*
haus win	*'house wind/air'*	*'summer-house, garden house'*
hul wara	*'hole water'*	*'waterhole'*

[1] In areas with a cattle industry, the item bulmakau *'cattle'* is being replaced by kau *'cow'* and bul *'bull'*.

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
ples daiman	*'place dead man'*	*'the hereafter'*
rum draiva	*'room driver'*	*'driver's cabin'*
sel kambang	*'shell lime'*	*'a gourd in which lime is carried for betelnut chewing'*
skin pas	*'skin letter'*	*'envelope'*
skin pilo	*'skin pillow'*	*'pillow-case'*
tang wara	*'tank water'*	*'water-tank'*

New names for containers are readily provided by this program, the noun bases figuring most prominently being haus *'house, hut, cabin, nest, etc.'*, ples *'place, locality'* and skin *'skin, envelope, cover'*.

CP Program 13: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_2 \rightarrow N_2$ i save stap long N_1

'N_2 *is found in(side)* N_1'

Whilst CP Program 12 provides the names for localities and containers, CP Program 13 provides the names for people or objects such as are typically found in the locality referred to by N_1. Again, lexical items at both word-level and phrase-level are found, with a strong preference for the former, even in Rural Pidgin. Items on record include:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
aiwara	*'eye water'*	*'tears'*
asgras	*'arse grass'*	*'buttocks cover'*
astanget	*'arse cordyline leaves'*	*'buttocks cover'*
banismeri	*'fence girl'*	*'boarding-school girl'*
bepilaplap	*'baby cloth'*	*'nappy'*
buskanaka	*'bush native'*	*'uncivilised man'*
busman	*'bush man'*	*'indigene living in the bush'*
hanbom	*'hand bomb'*	*'hand grenade'*
hanpaus	*'hand pouch'*	*'purse'*
hanples	*'hand place'*	*'place situated in direction of pointing finger'*
hanwas	*'arm watch'*	*'wristwatch'*
hetlain	*'head line'*	*'headline'*
hetman	*'head man'*	*'headman, chief'*
hettok	*'head talk'*	*'headline'*
mankimasta	*'boy master'*	*'male domestic servant'*[1]

[1]The sequence of nominal components in mankimasta *'servant to a European'* indicates that one is dealing with a phrase-level item which has become a word-level item without change in sequence. The phrases manki bilong masta and manki masta are still used by older informants. The form mankimasta was first reported by Hall (1943b:72) who glosses it as *'white man in charge of new recruits'*.

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
mausgras	*'mouth grass (hair)'*	*'moustache'*
mauswara	*'mouth water'*	*'saliva, idle talk'*
nuswara	*'nose water'*	*'mucus, snot'*
saitlam	*'side lamp'*	*'side-light of ship'*
skulboi skulmanki }	*'school boy'*	*'schoolboy'*
skulmasta	*'school European'*	*'European teacher'*
stonpis	*'stone fish'*	*'stonefish'*
tinmit	*'tin meat'*	*'tinned meat'*
usketgras	*'chin grass'*	*'beard'*

Lexical items at phrase-level involve the joining of N_2 and N_1 by means of the preposition bilong. Whilst some of the following items have become established names, the readiness with which such phrase-level items can be made up accounts for the presence of a number of *ad hoc* items; the following were recorded:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
balus bilong solwara	*'plane of sea'*	*'sea-plane'*
binatang bilong saksak	*'insect of sago'*	*'sago grubs'*
bulmakau bilong solwara	*'cow of sea'*	*'sea-cow, dugong'*
gris bilong graun	*'grease of ground'*	*'fertilizer'*
kindam bilong solwara	*'crustacean of sea'*	*'prawn'*
laus bilong dok	*'louse of dog'*	*'flea'*
lip maus	*'lip mouth'*	*'lip'*
nil bilong bus	*'nail of bush'*	*'thorn'*
paul bilong bus	*'fowl of bush'*	*'bush-hen'*

CP Program 14: $(N_1 + N_2)\ N_1 \rightarrow N_1$ i save kamap long N_2

'N_1 *originates from* N_2'

This program is closely related to the previous one, the principal difference being that N_2 refers to the person on locality from which N_1 originates rather than the locality where N_1 is usually found. Most items on record are phrase-level items, the only exceptions being buswin *'wind which originates from the bush, offshore wind'* and kotpepa *'paper which comes from the court, a summons'*; examples of phrase-level items include:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
naip meru	*'knife which comes from Meru'*[1]	*'paring knife'*
sit bilong binen	*'excreta of bees'*	*'honey'*
sit paia	*'remnants of fire'*	*'ashes'*
smok bilong graun	*'smoke of ground'*	*'dust'*
smok bilong si	*'smoke of sea'*	*'spray'*
taro kongkong	*'taro which comes from Hong Kong'*	*'Chinese taro'*
tultul bilong papa	*'messenger from pope'*	*'papal envoy'*

This concludes the presentation of the major programs of nominal compounding and lexical phrase formation. In addition to the programs discussed there are a number of minor ones, such as that accounting for winmani *'money that s.o. wins = profit'* or lusbotol *'bottle that s.o. leaves = non-returnable bottle'*. It seems likely that the productivity of this and other programs will increase with NGP's further growth, and that new programs for the derivation of nominal compounds will become available.

5.4.3. *VERBAL COMPOUNDS*

Verbal compounds and phrasal verbs in NGP take a prominent place in its lexicon, though Hall (1943b:22), amongst others, asserts that "verbal compounds are rare". The reason for this and similar statements is that the formation of new verbal lexical items occurs at phrase- rather than at word-level and that furthermore an important part of verbal phrase-formation, namely verbal chaining, has so far received very little attention. Some brief remarks have been made by Wickware (1943:113), Hall (1966:77) and Dutton (1973:233ff.). Most of the data presented here, in particular those on verbal chaining, were recorded by the author himself.[2]

CP Program 15: $(V_{tr} + N)\ V_{int} \rightarrow V_{tr} + N$

'to do s.th. with N'

Lexical items following this program are found at word- and phrase-level, with most word-level items having phrase-level equivalents. The

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[1] According to the *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.:39) Meru is the name of the former capital of Dutch New Guinea (Hollandia) from where knives and other kitchen utensils were imported. This item is documented only for mainland NGP and is now rarely used.

[2] An interesting attempt to describe verbal chaining in NGP from a transformational-generative (extended Standard Theory) point of view has been made by Woolford (1977). However, more observations are needed before a satisfactory account of this phenomenon can be given.

phonological information of word-level items differs from that of related syntactic paraphrases in that the transitivity marker -im is deleted; the semantic properties of lexical items at all levels are often quite different from those of the related syntactic paraphrases. Examples of word-level verbal compounds include:

NGP	Meaning of related paraphrase	Gloss
kikbal	*'to kick ball'*	*'to play soccer'*
lukbuk	*'to look book'*	*'to read'*
luslain	*'to leave the labour line'* or *'to untie the ropes'*	*'to take leave'*
meknais	*'to make noise'*	*'to shake, tremble'*
pinistaim	*'to finish time'*	*'to finish one's contract'*
piniswok	*'to finish work'*	*'to finish one's contract'*
ripsel	*'to reef sail'*	*'to reef the sails'*
sekan[1]	*'to shake hands'*	*'to make peace'*
statwok	*'to start work'*	*'to begin one's contract'*
sutas	*'to shoot arse'*	*'to give an injection'*

The distinction between syntactic and lexical verb phrases is difficult to draw in a number of instances. The following cases, however, exhibit changes in semantic information which have to be treated in the lexicon:

NGP	Meaning of related syntactic phrase	Gloss
brukim kok	*'to break the penis'*	*'to incise the penis'*
brukim skru	*'to break/fold the knee'*	*'to kneel down'*
givim baksait	*'to give the back'*	*'to turn one's back on'*
givim bel	*'to give belly'*	*'to impregnate; take pity on'*[2]
givim han	*'to give a hand'*	*'to lend a helping hand'*
givim pes	*'to give the forehead'*	*'to show one's sympathy, to snub s.o.'*[3]
kaikai maus	*'to eat mouth'*	*'to sulk; to kiss'*
kisim win	*'to get breath'*	*'to have a break, rest'*

[1] Many speakers of Rural Pidgin interpret this item as a simple base rather than a compound.

[2] The meaning *'to take pity on'* was introduced by the translators of the *Nupela Testamen*, a choice which has been deplored by a number of observers. Z'graggen (personal communication) suggests givim bel bilong mi with the possessive pronoun as an alternative which is not open to misinterpretation. A discussion of this expression is given by McElhanon (1975:62-3).

[3] This example, as well as that of kaikai maus, illustrates the widespread uncertainty regarding the interpretation of certain non-central body-part expressions (cf. Mühlhäusler and Todd 1977).

NGP	Meaning of related syntactic phrase	Gloss
kukim nus	*'to cook nose'*	*'to rub noses'*
mekim samting	*'to do s.th.'*	*'to have sexual intercourse'*
pulim nus	*'to pull the nose'*	*'to snore, to lead up the garden path'*
sutim bel	*'to shoot the belly/mind'*	*'to appeal to s.o.'s conscience'*
taitim lek	*'to tighten the leg'*	*'to walk fast'*
tanim bel	*'to turn the belly'*	*'to be nauseated, repent'*
troimwe lek	*'to throw the legs'*	*'to run fast'*

CP Program 16: $(N_1 + V_{int})\ V_{int} \rightarrow$ gat N_1 i V_{int}

'to have N_1 *which* V_{int}*'*

This program provides a large number of intransitive verbals, which often correspond to English predicative adjectives. It typically involves nouns referring to parts of the body or to the seat of human emotions. Sentences of the type N_2 i $(N_1 + V_{int})\ V_{int}$ are synonymous with others of the type N_1 bilong N_2 i V_{int}, i.e. only minimal semantic changes, if any, distinguish bel bilong mi i gut *'I am contented'* from mi belgut *'I am contented'*. The main function of this program appears to be a stylistic one. Well established instances include:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
ainogut	*'eye bad'*	*'having bad eyesight'*
aipas	*'eye fast'*	*'blind'*
airaun	*'eye round'*	*'dazed'*
aislip	*'eye asleep'*	*'very tired'*
belamamas	*'belly glad'*	*'pleased'*
belgut	*'belly good'*	*'agreeable, contented'*
belhat	*'belly hot'*	*'angry'*
belisi	*'belly easy'*	*'peaceful, calm'*
belkirap	*'belly aroused'*	*'aroused (sexually)'*
belklin	*'belly clean'*	*'sincere'*
belkros	*'belly cross'*	*'angry, upset'*
belnogut	*'belly bad'*	*'uneasy, disappointed'*
beltru	*'belly true'*	*'sincere'*
hanbruk	*'arm broken'*	*'having a broken arm'*
hetkela	*'head bald'*	*'bald, bareheaded'*
iaupas	*'ear fast'*	*'hard of hearing, deaf'*
nekdrai	*'neck dry'*	*'thirsty'*
nekpas	*'neck closed'*	*'dumb'*
mausnogut	*'mouth bad'*	*'annoyed, having difficulty in speaking'*

Among fluent younger speakers of Rural Pidgin it was found that the intransitive compound verbals can also be functionally shifted to abstract nominals, as in mi aipas - mi gat aipas *'I am blind - I have blindness'*, a fact which further enhances NGP's stylistic flexibility.

Apart from the more established items just listed, a number of innovations were recorded by the author. These will be presented in their linguistic context:

NGP	Gloss
mipela AIKLIA long Ostrelia, mipela i lukim pasin bilong ol	*'we are informed about the Australians, we have seen their behaviour'*
dispela man i stap i go WETGRAS	*'this man will live until he has grey hair'*
mi SIKHET long san	*'I got dizzy in the sun'*

The remainder of the programs involving verbal compounding are instances of verbal chaining (concatenation, hendiadys, serialisation). At this stage no full evaluation of verbal chaining in NGP is available and its description offers a number of problems. One of these is that verbal chaining lies on the boundary between syntax and the lexicon, another that it seems to be one of the areas of NGP grammar which is strongly susceptible to substratum influences. Verbal chaining as observed in Rural Pidgin appears to follow a number of programs including:

CP Program 17: $(V_{1int} + V_{2int})\ V_{int} \rightarrow V_{1int}$ na V_{2int}

'to carry out an action V_1/V_2 *whilst being in a state* V_2/V_1*'*

This type of verbal chaining involves a relatively small number of intransitive verb bases including stil *'to be hidden'*, tok *'to speak'*, wok *'to be busy'*, as well as those denoting location or movement which are followed by both basic and derived intransitive verbals. The intransitive verb bases stil, tok, etc. act either as a kind of classifier of verbal actions or correspond to adverbials in English. This construction is extremely productive, and changes in semantic information are rare. Notes on this type of verb serialisation can be found in Wurm (1971a:65-6) and Dutton (1973:233). Examples include:

NGP	Gloss
stil lukluk[1]	*'to peep, look without being noticed'*
stil puspus	*'to have illicit sexual intercourse'*

[1]The forms lukluk stil, stil na lukluk and lukluk na stil have also been recorded. However, stil generally appears in first position if it is collocated with transitive verbs, as in stil lukim *'to observe s.o. from a hidden position'*, but not *lukim stil.

NGP	Gloss
stil pait	*'to attack without being seen'*
lap indai	*'to die of laughter'*
spak indai	*'to be dead drunk'*
slip indai	*'to sleep like a log'*
tok sori	*'to talk sadly, express sympathy'*
tok singsing	*'to recite in a singing voice'*
tok kros	*'to express one's anger in words'*
toktok resis	*'to dispute, have an argument'*
wok bung	*'to be co-operative'*
wok raun	*'to be an itinerant worker'*
go popaia	*'to miss the target'*
ron spit	*'to run speedily'*

CP Program 18: $(V_{1int} + V_{2\{tr\ caus\}})\ V_{tr} \rightarrow V_{1int}$ na $V_{2\{tr\ caus\}}$ wantaim

'to carry out two actions (simultaneously)'

This program differs from the previous one in that the second verbal in the chain is transitive or causative; the interpretation of the verb series is 'doing s.th. whilst being engaged in V_{2tr}', as in:

NGP	Gloss
tok hapim	*'to abbreviate, cut a speech short'*
tok hamarim	*'to attack with words'*
tok nogutim	*'to insult verbally'*
hariap givim	*'to give speedily'*
giaman wokim	*'to pretend to make'*
giaman paitim	*'to pretend to hit'*
stil harim	*'to eavesdrop'*
stil lukim	*'to spy on'*

In a number of cases the second verb is most readily translated as a preposition in English, as in:

NGP	Literal meaning	Gloss
pisin i plai raunim diwai	*'the bird flew went around the tree'*	*'the bird flew around the tree'*
Bougainville i laik bruk lusim Papua New Guinea	*'Bougainville is about to break leave Papua New Guinea'*	*'Bougainville is about to secede from Papua New Guinea'*
em i winim ol arapela man long wokabaut brukim bus	*'he surpasses the other men at walking breaking the bush'*	*'he surpasses the other men at walking through the bush'*

CP Program 19: (V_{1tr} + V_{2tr}) V_{tr} → V_{1tr} na V_{2tr} sampela man/samting (wantaim)
'to V_{1tr} *and* V_{2tr} *s.o. or s.th. (simultaneously)'*

This program applies in those instances where the subject and the object of both transitive verbals are identical. As with programs 16 and 17, most verbal concatenations are phrase-level lexical items, though some word-level items including luksave *'to see and know = to recognise'*,[1] smelsave *'to smell and know = to recognise by smell'* and bilipsave *'to believe and know = to know by belief'*, were found. Other examples include:

NGP	Gloss
lainim soim	*'to explain by demonstration'*
holim pasim	*'to hold and obstruct, arrest'*
kotim pasim	*'to arrest by court order'*
holim kalabusim	*'to arrest and imprison'*
tokim bekim	*'to reply to'*
harim save	*'to recognise from hearing'*
smelim save	*'to recognise from smelling'*
senisim givim	*'to trade, barter with'*

Again, some of the verbal chains correspond to verb and preposition constructions in English. An example is the expression of the benefactive preposition *'with'* by means of the verb givim[2] *'to give'*, as in:

NGP	Gloss
yu yet i mas helpim givim mani long ol katekis long ronim wok bilong ol lotu	*'you must support the catechists with money to enable them to do the work of the churches'*

A group of chained verbs, which in earlier accounts of NGP has not been recognised as such but has been treated as either simple lexical bases or verbal compounds of the type (V + adv) V, is that which includes holim apim[3] *'to hold up'*, haisim apim *'to hoist'*, bringim apim *'to bring*

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[1] A comparison between luksave *'to recognise'* and toksave *'to inform'* illustrates that NGP exhibits characteristics of both preminative, accusative and ergative languages. Compare luksave long man = mi lukim man na mi save longen *'I see the man and know him'* with mi toksave long man = mi tokim man na i save *'I told the man and he knew'*.

[2] Its occurrence in this function is reported for a number of pidgins and creoles. Thus, Hall (1966:78) writes: "A widespread African peculiarity is the use of verbs meaning 'give' as complements of this type, indicating the person to whom s.th. is given or for whose benefit s.th. is done."

[3] As yet, no spelling conventions for concatenated verbs have been laid down. The author has chosen to spell as two words cases which involve a transitive verbal ending in -im in first position in a verbal chain.

up, invent', painim autim *'to find out, reveal'*, skelim autim *'to deal out'*, digim autim *'to dig up'* and similar ones. This group contrasts with superficially similar but structurally different verbals such as bagarapim *'to bugger up, ruin'*, hariapim *'to speed up'*, and poinimautim *'to point out'*.

Instances of genuine verbal chaining can be identified by the fact that the second verb in the chain can be repeated after the object in its intransitive base form (cf. also MF Program 21), as in:

NGP	Gloss
liptim apim bokis i ap	*'lift the box'*
holim apim pepa i ap	*'hold up the poster'*
husat i telim autim tok i aut?	*'who spilled the secret?'*
ol i skelim autim kas i aut	*'they dealt the cards'*

The ungrammaticality of the examples containing lexical items of the second group confirms that one is dealing with simple lexical items and not with verbal chaining. Compare:

NGP	Gloss
*em i poinimautim asua i aut	*'he pointed out the mistake'*
*em i pilimapim meri i ap	*'he fondled the girl'*
*ol i karamapim bodi i ap	*'they covered the body'*
*ol i goapim[1] diwai i ap	*'they climbed the tree'*

CP Program 20: $(V_1\{^{tr}_{caus}\} + V_{2int})\ V_{\{^{tr}_{caus}\}} \rightarrow V_1\{^{tr}_{caus}\}$ N na N i V_{2int}

'to V_1 N *and cause* N *to* V_2*'*

In a few instances, verbal chaining is used when the object of the first verb is identical with the subject of the second. Examples include:

NGP	Gloss
kaunsil i TOKSAVE long ol man	*'the councillor INFORMED the men'*
brata bilongen i KILIM INDAI brata bilongen	*'he killed his brother'*
ol i BRUKIM PUNDAUN dispela bet	*'they broke the shelf and it fell down'*
yu KIKIM RAUS dispela dok	*'kick out the dog!'*

The use of i kam 'direction towards speaker' and i go 'direction away from speaker' in sentences such as kisim i go bokis ain *'to take away*

[1]Many speakers of Rural Pidgin pronounce this form as kwapim or kuapim, a fact which supports the interpretation of this item as a simplex.

the patrol box' are also instances of this type of verbal concatenation. However, since they are freely used, they should be treated as syntactic rather than lexical phenomena (cf. Wurm 1971a:44-5). This construction may be ascribed to the influence of ergative languages on NGP.

CP Program 21: (V + bek) V → V gen
'to do again what is expressed by V'

Though the verbal compounds appearing with this program seem to be related to either CP Program 16 or 19, a number of recent innovations recorded by the author in Rural Pidgin show that the status of bek is in the process of changing from that of a verb to that of a verbal suffix, with an accompanying change of meaning from *'to be back, come back'* to *'again'*, and it frequently corresponds to the English prefix *re-*. Examples are:

NGP	Gloss
lukim bek	*'to revisit'*
kirap bek	*'to raise from the dead'*
kisim bek	*'to accept again'*
marit bek	*'to be remarried'*
planim bek	*'to rebury'*
stretim bek	*'to fix, mend, repair'*
wokim bek	*'to repair'*

This again illustrates that the word-formation component of NGP is still developing and that the reinterpretation of established programs can give rise to new ones.

5.5. REDUPLICATION AND THE FORMATION OF LEXICAL ITEMS

5.5.1. *INTRODUCTION*

The presence of a large number of reduplicated lexical items in NGP, as well as that of various iterative processes in its syntax, have led many observers to remark on this phenomenon.[1] However the failure to distinguish between reduplicated lexical bases and derived reduplicated lexical items, together with the lack of data demonstrating that reduplication in NGP is governed by regularities, has led many observers to merely list reduplicated forms (cf. 4.4.3.2.6.).

The importance of distinguishing between reduplicated word bases and reduplicated derived lexical items has been stressed by various writers,

[1] cf. Reed (1943:284), Mihalic (1957:35), Mead (1956:128), Healey (1972:31), Hall (1943a: 194) and Mühlhäusler (1975f:198-214).

for instance Uhlenbeck (1953:52-61) for Javanese and by the present author (Mühlhäusler 1975f:198-214). Basic to this distinction is that the phonological properties of lexical items do not necessarily signal their derivational status. Thus, whilst both **bombom** *'torch made of dried coconut fronds'* and **suasua** *'sores in various places'* exhibit the same phonological properties, they differ in lexical status. There is no lexical base **bom** in NGP of which **bombom** can be said to be a reduplication, **suasua**, on the other hand, is derived from **sua** *'sore, ulcer'* by means of a regular process which accounts for many similar pairs.[1]

Whilst reduplicated word bases in NGP may reflect lexical regularities in its lexifier languages, this kind of reduplication is unpredictable from the point of view of NGP's grammar; and no more will be said about it here. Some additional remarks can be found in Hall (1943a: 194), Reed (1943:238) and Mühlhäusler (1975f:200-1).

Before presenting a description of the programs for the derivation of reduplicated lexical items, some general remarks about changes in phonological and semantic information need to be made.

5.5.2. *PHONOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC INFORMATION OF DERIVED REDUPLICATED LEXICAL ITEMS*

Reduplication, like other cases of lexical derivation, involves a number of changes in lexical information, such changes being at least partly predicted by the lexical program underlying a derivation. Reduplication differs from other processes of lexical derivation in that the changes in phonological information are more complex, whilst changes in semantic information are less tangible.

Derived reduplicated lexical items differ from related basic forms in that part or all of the basic phonological information is repeated. In the derivation of lexical items, the following cases can be distinguished:

i) reduplication of parts of syllables as in **papairap** *'to explode a number of times in rapid sequence'* derived from **pairap** *'to explode'*.

ii) reduplication of syllables, as in **harhariap** *'to rush'* from **hariap** *'to hurry'*.

iii) reduplication of lexical bases without the transitivity marker **-im** or the adjective marker **-pela**, as in **sutsutim** *'to shoot rapidly, many*

[1] The distinction between derived and lexicalised reduplications is difficult to draw in some instances, such as **makmak** *'pattern, spots'* which is seldom found in this meaning in unreduplicated form.

times' from sutim *'to shoot'* or pretpret[1] *'to be very frightened'* from pret *'to be frightened'*.

iv) reduplication of lexical bases including the markers -im or -pela, as in gutpela gutpela *'very good'* from gutpela *'good'* and sutim sutim *'to keep shooting at'* from sutim *'to shoot'*.

The changes in phonological information are determined primarily by the lexical programs. Thus word-level reduplication of the types i)-iii) is found with the program accounting for the intensification of semantic information of verb bases, whilst phrase-level reduplication of type iv) is found with the program expressing duration of verbal actions or states.

Phonological changes are further determined by the phonological shape of lexical bases. Thus, lexical bases containing phonologically identical syllables cannot be reduplicated by repeating the first syllable. This restriction excludes forms such as *pispispis *'to urinate a lot'* or *pekpekpek *'to defecate a lot'*. This convention further bars forms such as *limlimlimbur *'to wander around'*. Instead, phrase-level reduplication is found with such bases, as in pispis pispis *'to urinate a lot'*.

A second factor influencing word-level reduplication is the number of syllables contained in lexical bases. Thus, monosyllabic bases excluding the grammatical markers are reduplicated in full, as in kolkolim *'to call repeatedly, loudly'* from kolim *'to call'* or paitpait *'to fight or hit hard'* from pait *'to fight, hit'*.

Monosyllabic bases with initial consonant clusters are a special case, since the insertion of epenthetic vowels often results in their becoming bisyllabic, in which case reduplication may affect the first syllable only. Thus, one finds kalkalap next to klapklap *'to jump up and down, to bounce'*, pilpilai next to plaiplai *'to play around, play with many others'* and papalai next to plaiplai *'to fly in great numbers'*. The last two examples suggest that epenthetic vowels should appear in the underlying representation of at least some lexical bases of NGP.

Polysyllabic bases are either reduplicated in full or, mostly in the NGP of younger fluent speakers, only one of the syllables is reduplicated, usually the first. As yet, no stable conventions appear to have emerged. Instances of partial reduplication of bisyllabic bases were found in a number of localities. They include:

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[1] No spelling conventions for reduplicated lexical items have been laid down so far. The author proposes to: i) spell together all lexicalised reduplications; ii) spell apart forms in which the suffixes -im or -pela are repeated; iii) spell together all other forms which are commonly found to carry a single main stress. This leaves some problems, for instance, liklik liklik or likliklik *'very small'*.

Base form		Reduplicated form	
pairap	*'to explode, belch'*	paipairap	*'to belch repeatedly'*
sekan	*'to shake hands'*	seksekan	*'to shake hands with one another'*
giaman(im)	*'to cheat'*	giamgiaman(im)	*'to cheat thoroughly'*

Another form, involving the iteration of the last syllable, is lapunpun *'very old, decrepit'* from lapun *'old (of human beings)'*. Again, this form was recorded in a number of localities.

A last factor determining the choice of changes in phonological information is the derivational status of the items which are to be reduplicated. It was found that, with very few exceptions, word-level reduplication applies to lexical bases only (cf. section 2.6.2.). This restriction is particularly strong in the case of verbals derived from noun bases and abstract nominals derived from adjective and verb bases. It accounts for the non-acceptability[1] of forms such as *mi gat kroskros *'I am extremely angry'*, *pretpret bilong dispela man *'the terror of this man'*, *brumbrumim *'to sweep thoroughly'*, *hamhamarim *'to give a thorough beating'*, *sotsotim *'to shorten considerably'* or *haithaitim *'to hide thoroughly'*.

The picture of changes in phonological information conditioned by the various programs of reduplication thus appears to be fairly complex. However a number of points may become clearer once the phonology of NGP is better understood, particularly once a better knowledge of phonological processes in rapidly spoken NGP is available.

The interpretation and classification of changes in semantic information is determined by a number of factors which are not always easy to separate. First, the semantic information contained in reduplicated derived lexical items depends on the meaning of the related lexical base or item. The situation is that found by Cassidy (1957:52) for Jamaican Creole: "As to the semantic value of iteration in these forms, it is clear that the basic thing expressed is repetition, which, however, takes on a variety of nuances depending on the meaning of the simplex."

Second, the basic categorial status determines the range of changes in semantic information. Reduplication operating on noun bases, for instance, will express concepts such as plurality, distribution or reciprocity, whilst reduplication of verb bases expresses mainly intensity and duration.

A third consideration is that changes in semantic information are often determined by the wider linguistic context in which reduplicated

[1] As has been pointed out above (subsection 4.6.3.3.) this constraint is being relaxed in creolised NGP.

forms are found. In lively narrative style, reduplications, as well as repetition of larger stretches of syntactic constructions, are encountered in great numbers.[1] The function of reduplication in such contexts is mainly stylistic and, whilst it may reinforce some general concepts such as that of actions carried out hastily or involving many participants, individual reduplicated lexical items may carry little additional semantic information. Some instances of this style of NGP are:

i) (distribution and plurality):
Olgeta mas amamas tru long wokwok bilong kainkain lotu long wanpela wanpela distrik.
'Everybody has to be glad about the (various kinds of) work done by (the various kinds of) churches in (the various) districts.'

ii) (intensity and duration):
Em tok olsem em tok olsem na, orait, i stap i go go go, nau em lapun pinis na mi lukautim mi lukautim nau i go i go nau em i tok: O pikinini, mi laik indai nau mi laik indai nau.
'Those were his words, now he is an old man, and I keep looking after him and he said: My child, I am going to die soon.'

iii) (first part: intensity, duration; second part: distribution, intensity)
Papa em i bun nating bun nating na indai indai na mama krai na ol wantok bilongen i krai na wanpela man i kam ... em indai pinis, orait, wanwan i kam holim rop ya i go na putim i stap putim i stap wokim hul wokim hul na karamapim karamapim.
'The father was very bony and thin and he was gradually dying and the mother was crying and his friends were crying and a man arrived ... after he had died, each of them in turn held the rope and they put (the dead body) and let it lie, and they all took part in digging a hole and afterwards they all covered it up again.'

Finally, it must be pointed out that one cannot always neatly separate the individual semantic functions of reduplication and that there is overlap between, for instance, intensity and duration or plurality and distribution. Since the meaning of reduplication is often determined by the linguistic context in which they appear, extensive use will be made of sample sentences from the author's corpus of data. The classification of the programs of reduplication is based first on the categorial status of the lexical items that are reduplicated and second on the semantic functions of individual programs.

[1] Similar observations for Afrikaans have been made by Kempen (1969:138). cf. also remarks by Tauli (1968:97).

5.5.3. *PROGRAMS OF LEXICAL REDUPLICATION*

5.5.3.1. Reduplication of Adjective Bases

RD Program 1: (adj + adj) adj → adj tru

'really adj'

Reduplication of attributive adjectives expresses the idea of intensity. The derived reduplicated items are usually at phrase-level and the suffix -pela is repeated where it is required in the non-reduplicated form. The only exception on record is bikbikpela snek *'a huge snake'*, found in creolised NGP on Manus. Examples of this program are:

NGP	Gloss
em i goap draipela draipela maunten	*'he climbed up a huge mountain'*
taim mi raun long taun mi save lukim ol naispela naispela meri	*'when I walk around in town I see gorgeous girls'*
blakpela blakpela klaut	*'a very dark sky'*
liklik liklik mani bilong mi	*'my very little money'*

RD Program 2: (adj_{num} + adj_{num}) adj → adj_{num} long wanpela man

'adj_{num} *each'*

Reduplication of cardinal number adjectives is used to express the concept of distribution.[1] It is found at both word-level, especially when the nominal modified refers to a unit of currency, and at phrase-level. Examples are:

NGP	Gloss
ol i takis long faivfaiv dola	*'they paid $5 tax each'*
ol Ostrelia i no save maritim tutu meri	*'the Australians do not marry two girls each'*
ol i skelim drai long givim long wanwan man	*'they weighed the dry coconuts and gave each man his share'*
ol wanwan ples i kam na ol i sanap long wanwan lain bilong ol	*'the inhabitants from each village arrived and each party joined their own group'*
tupela tupela i kisim wanpela blanket	*'each couple received one blanket'*
wanpela wanpela ailan i gat nem bilong em yet	*'each single island has its own name'*

[1] Examples which might be included here are wanem wanem *'whatever'* and husat husat *'whoever'*.

5.5.3.2. Reduplication of Adverbials

RD Program 3: (adv + adv) adv → adv tru

'really adv'

The reduplication of adverbials usually expresses intensity. Though most of the examples found involve reduplication of adverb bases, some adverbials derived from attributive adjectives were also found. Because reduplicated adverbials are typically spoken with an increase in tempo and single main stress, the author regards this type as a word-level phenomenon. However, in more careful and slower speech, phrase-level reduplications may be found. Examples recorded include:

NGP	Gloss
pasin bilong ol man i stap bipo-bipo tru	*'the customs of the people who lived in days long gone'*
meri ya i tok momo yet	*'the woman talks a great deal'*
em i stap insaitinsait long puk-puk	*'he was deep inside the crocodile'*
ol Hailans i save pait klostu-klostu	*'the Highlanders usually fight at very close range'*
em i paitim em nogutnogut tru	*'he was hitting him really badly'*
ol i givim nabaut olsemolsem tasol	*'they distributed it just like this'*
mi ting i no gat trutru	*'I think that is quite out of the question'*
yupela i mas bihainim lo bilong gavman tasol i no ken skruim natingnating lo	*'you have to obey the law of the government and you must not amend this law for any reason whatsoever'*
em i tok bulsit natingnating	*'he just waffles'*
pater i save kros natingnating	*'the Father gets angry for no reason whatsoever'*

5.5.3.3. Reduplication of Intransitive Verbals

RD Program 4: $(V_{int} + V_{int})\ V_{int} \rightarrow V_{int}$ tru

'to really/intensely do what is expressed by V_{int}'

This program is found with intransitive verb bases and some verbals derived from adjective bases (MF Program 17), and most reduplications (with the exception of perhaps some polysyllabic bases) are word-level items, with a single main stress on the first syllable. This program is very productive, and the author has found numerous additional examples since his first analysis (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975f:204).

NGP	Gloss
narapela lain ol i lapunlapun ya, ol i save tokples tasol	*'the others, the ones that are very old, only know the vernacular'*
sotpela lek i strongstrong long ol i mas kilim dispela masalai meri	*'the man with the short leg insisted that they had to kill this spirit woman'*
ol i luslus nau, lus olgeta	*'now they are really lost'*
em i napnap[1] nau yupela i no ken paitpait long dispela	*'that is quite enough, now you*(pl.) *can't fight about this'*
ol meri i paulpaul long taun	*'the women lead a depraved life in the towns'*
mi kam na mi pretpret	*'I arrived and I was terrified'*
ol haus i brukbruk pinis	*'the houses are ruined'*
ol i kam bungbung	*'they crowded together'*
mi hangrehangre na hangre i kilim mi nogut tru	*'I am terribly hungry and the hunger is nearly killing me'*
em i haithait	*'he is well hidden'*
kalapkalap	*'to jump up and down'*
ol manmeri i kraikrai long mani	*'the people are crying out for money'*
nau bodi i taittait	*'all the limbs of the dead body were stiff = the body walked like Frankenstein'*
mipela i wariwari long yupela i stap longwe	*'we are very concerned about you being so far away'*

Reduplication of the intransitive verb bases giaman *'to be mistaken, lie'* and pilai *'to play'* often carries negative connotations, as in:

NGP	Gloss
meri i pilaipilai tasol long wok bilongen	*'the girl doesn't take her work seriously'*
ol i giamangiaman long wok	*'they are just shirking'*

RD Program 5: $(V_{int} + V_{int})\ V_{int} \rightarrow V_{int}$ planti taim/long planti ples

'V_{int} *often or in many places*'

In a number of instances reduplication of intransitive verb bases expresses some notion of plurality, indicating either that a number of people are involved in an action, that such an action takes place in a number of different locations or that the action is repetitive. The

[1]The forms napnap *'quite sufficient'* and em i no nap *'he is unable'* can be taken as an indication that many speakers of Rural Pidgin regard nap *'enough'* as the word stem. However, because it is derived from English *'enough'*, it is listed as inap in both Steinbauer's (1969) and Mihalic's (1971) dictionaries. This analysis has motivated Sadler (1973a:55) to establish the rule that "i is not heard before inap".

exact meaning can often be determined only when the context in which a reduplicated form is uttered is known. Some examples are:

NGP	Gloss
rot bilong Maprik i paspas tumas	*'the Maprik road is closed frequently'*
ol bataplai na ol liklik lang ol i plaiplai long mama bilongen	*'butterflies and little flies swarmed around his mother'*
mipela olgeta i haithait nabaut	*'we all hid in many different hiding places'*
mi wok long raunraun long Lorengau	*'I was busy walking around in Lorengau'*
oltaim ol i ritrit momo yet	*'they always do a lot of reading'*
tok bilongen i brukbruk	*'he is stammering'*
em i bin kam dripdrip tasol	*'he came drifting along a little at a time, doing it repeatedly'*
ol brata bilong mi indaiindai pinis	*'my brothers are dead'*

Whilst most of these items involve reduplication of the whole base, reduplication of a single syllable only was found in raraun *'to walk around'*, paplai *'to swarm, fly around'* and kalkalap *'to jump up and down'*. Only the last example is widely known, however.

RD Program 6: $(V_{int} + V_{int})\ V_{int} \rightarrow V_{int}$ longpela taim

'do s.th. for a long time'

Whilst reduplication of intransitive verbals in Programs 4 and 5 involved the generation of word-level lexical items, duration is signalled by reduplication at phrase-level. Both intransitive verb bases and derived intransitive verbals can be reduplicated. This, together with the facts that the predicate marker can be repeated[1] and that intransitive verbals can be repeated several times, indicates that this program lies on the borderline between lexicon and syntax. Because the only restrictions on its operation are semantic, i.e. verbals referring to sudden actions are excluded, the number of instances recorded is very high. Only a few examples will be presented here, demonstrating various kinds of phrase structures:

[1] It is not the case, as suggested by Sadler (1973a:158-9), that "i is used before every repetition of an i-verb but not before other verbs." (i- verbs, according to Sadler being kam *'to come'*, go *'to go'*, stap *'to stay'* and dai *'to be unconscious, die'*.) Thus em i go go go go *'he walked for a long time'* is perfectly acceptable, and the occurrence of repeated i with non-i-verbs has been recorded by the author in many cases, e.g. in em i krai i krai i krai *'she cried and cried and cried'*. Whilst there are no categorial rules for the occurrence of i there may be significant tendencies to its appearance in certain environments.

NGP	Gloss
em i go go go go go kamap	*'he walked for a long time and finally arrived'*
em i kaikai kaikai kaikai go go pinis nau	*'he took a long time over his meal, then he finished'*
em i kam i kam i kam kamap	*'he arrived after a lenghty journey'*
dok i wok long singaut singaut i stap	*'the dogs were barking for a long time'*
ol i kam bek sindaun sindaun i go	*'they returned and stayed for a long time'*
em i slip slip; nain klok nau, em i kirap	*'he slept and slept; at nine o'clock he got up'*
samtaim yu tingting tingting i go i go	*'sometimes you think and think ...'*
mipela wet wet wet	*'we were waiting for a long time'*

The special function of go *'go'* and stap *'stay, be located'* following verbals as markers of continuation of an action or state can be seen in the above examples. More details on the behaviour of these two items are given by Wurm (1971a:44).

5.5.3.4. Reduplication of Transitive Verbals

RD Program 7: (V_{tr} + V_{tr} + im) V_{tr} → mekim V_{tr} tru/olgeta

'to perform an action thoroughly'

This type of reduplication is a word-level phenomenon and applies, with very few exceptions, to transitive verb bases or transitive (but not causative) verbals derived from intransitive verb bases, these restrictions being relaxed only in creolised NGP (cf. 4.6.3.3.). The transitivity marker -im is not repeated even in those cases where transitive verb bases cannot occur without it, as in, for instance, kiskisim derived from kisim *'to get'*. The semantics of the reduplicated form imply that an action is carried out violently, persistently or under strain.[1] Examples are:

mi slekslekim masis na i no lait; ating masis i kol	*'I do my best to light the matches but they won't light; perhaps they are wet'*
dispela masin resa i nogut; bai yu katkatim ol skin bilong yu	*'this shaving tool is no good and it will cut your skin to bits'*
tupela winim tru, tupela winwinim wara	*'the two of them succeed, really succeed in crossing the river'*

[1] Note that, in some of the examples listed, there is a plural object which may have reinforced the choice of reduplicated verb forms.

NGP	Gloss
ol i sutsutim dispela man nau	*'they fired lots of shots at this man'*
ol i subsubim kano bilongen	*'they pushed his canoe with force'*
bai yumi mekmekim lotu long we ol masta i save mekim	*'then we shall hold real church services just like the Europeans are used to'*
em i ronewe pinis, em i wok long kiskisim win	*'having escaped by running he was gasping for breath'*
man i wok long paitpaitim dok bilongen	*'the man is busy beating up his dog'*
em i askaskim olgeta man nau	*'he asked everybody persistently'*
em i karkarim bokis ain i go long haus kiap	*'he carried the patrol box to the government rest hut'*

Two examples of derived verbals being reduplicated were found among second language NGP speakers, these being brukbrukim *'to break to little pieces'* and pampamim *'to pump with force, to make violent love to'*.

RD Program 8: $(V_{tr} + V_{tr})\ V_{rec} \rightarrow V_{tr}$ narapela narapela

'to do s.th. to one another'

The idea of reciprocity is expressed in NGP by repeating the sentence describing the activities of the participants, or by using narapela narapela or wanpela wanpela *'one another'* in object position, as in:

NGP	Gloss
tupela i pait: narapela i kilim narapela, narapela i kilim narapela	*'they were fighting and hit one another'*
or:	
tupela i kilim narapela narapela	

However, several instances of reduplicated transitive verbs signalling reciprocity were found which involved reduplicated lexical items at phrase-level. At this stage, this program is still marginal to the grammar of NGP. The examples recorded are:[1]

tupela i paitim paitim	*'the two were hitting one another'*
bipo ol tumbuna yet ol i save bekim bekim	*'in the old days our ancestors used to take revenge on one another'*
tupela i givim givim presen	*'the two are exchanging presents'*
ol brata i wok long helpim helpim	*'the brothers are helping one another'*

[1] In addition to these the verb base kis *'to kiss'* is used in a similar construction at word-level, namely tupela i kiskis *'they were kissing'*.

RD Program 9: $(V_{tr} + V_{tr})\ V_{tr} \rightarrow V_{tr}$ planti taim/samting

'to do many times, to do s.th. to many objects/people'

This program resembles RD Program 5 in that the reduplication of the transitive verb bases conveys a general idea of plurality, this being a result either of the action being carried out many times or of the objects of the transitive verb being numerous and/or in a number of localities. The range of meanings associated with this program partially overlaps with others expressing intensity or duration. Only a few clear-cut cases were recorded, all involving word-level reduplication:

NGP	Gloss
ol i kisim ston na putputim nabaut	*'they got stones and put them in various places'*
dispela man i askaskim mi, i askim mi planti taim	*'this man asked me many times'*
taim bilongen long dildilim kas	*'his turn to deal the cards'*
ol man i mekim hatwok ol tarangu meri na karkarim ol pikinini	*'the men make the poor women work hard and make them have children'*

RD Program 10: $(V_{tr} + V_{tr})\ V_{tr} \rightarrow V_{tr}$ sampela samting/man planti taim

'to do s.th. for a long time'

Duration with transitive verbs, as was the case with intransitive verbals, is signalled by phrase-level reduplication. Repetition of the transitive verbal including the transitivity marker -im, repetition of the verbal preceded by i, or repetition of the entire VP including the object are found, some examples being:

NGP	Gloss
ol i skruim skruim nau, nau pait i kamap bikpela	*'they kept increasing their forces until the battle was really big'*
ol i save tanim tanim hatwara	*'they take a long time preparing a soup'*
mipela wok long pulim pulim pulim em i strong em i strong i go go go nau	*'we pulled and pulled it but it just kept resisting'*
bikpela i katim wok katim wok ya na banana suga samting i orait pinis	*'his big brother spent a long time clearing a garden, and bananas, sugar and other plants grew satisfactorily (afterwards)'*

Instead of repeating the transitive verbal or verb phrase once or more, a dummy verb mekim *'to do s.th.'* is used in reduplicated form to indicate passage of time, as in:

NGP	Gloss
mipela i pilai kikbal mekim mekim nau - Tumam i win	*'we played soccer for some time - then Tumam took the lead'*
ol i sutim ol long masket, ol i sutim tu ol long masket, mekim, mekim, mekim nau, Uranati i no winim Wallis	*'they were shooting at one another with guns; they did it for a considerable time, nevertheless Wallis Island was not taken by Uranati'*

5.5.3.5. Reduplication of Nominals

RD Program 11: (N + N) N → planti N

'a number of N *are involved'*

Word-level reduplication of noun bases, and occasionally compound nominals, is used to express the idea that a considerable number of what is referred to by N are involved. Historically, some lexicalised reduplications such as sipsip *'sheep'* and meme *'sheep'*, whose unreduplicated forms sip and me are no longer used, may have developed out of this program. Two other nouns, bukbuk *'swellings'* and kainkain *'all kinds of'*, are very rarely found unreduplicated in present-day NGP.

It is difficult, in many instances, to separate the idea of plurality from the related concepts of *'all kinds of'* and *'such as found in a number of localities'*. However, since the idea of distribution is signalled in NGP by a special device, it will be treated separately (RD Program 12). Examples are:

NGP	Gloss
ol i pulimapim kabora long ol bekbek	*'they filled the bags with copra'*
talibum i gat planti bukbuk long skin bilongen	*'the green-shell snail has many protruberances on its skin'*
mi laikim dispela plasta i gat hulhul	*'I like this plaster which has many holes'*
komisin i makim 1,000 haphap graun long wokim ol skul, sios na maket	*'the commission set aside 1,000 pieces of land for the construction of schools, churches and markets'*
i gat kainkain abus	*'there are many species of animals'*
siot i gat kalakala na kainkain mak	*'the shirt has many colours and all sorts of patterns'*
manki ya i gat planti suasua	*'this boy has got many ulcers'*
dispela pikinini bilong diwai i gat konakona	*'this fruit (carambola) has many corners'*
em i wok long kukim kaikai long naitnait	*'he cooks dinner every night'*
em i save kisim talingatalinga olgeta	*'he gathers all mushrooms'*

RD Program 12: (N + N) N → N i stap long ol ples nabaut

'N is found in a number of places'

Distribution can be expressed in NGP by a number of mechanisms, a) reduplication of verb bases as discussed under RD Program 5, b) the use of nabaut *'around'* after verbal or nominal lexical items, and c) by reduplicating noun bases. Nabaut is often used after both verbal and nominal reduplications to reinforce the idea of distribution. Instances where noun bases are reduplicated for this purpose include:

NGP	Gloss
em i gat bukbuk nabaut long skin bilong en	*'his skin was covered with boils'*
gavman i putim manmeri long kalabuskalabus	*'the government locks people up in various prisons'*
ol kanakakanaka nabaut long bus	*'all the indigenes who live in various places in the bush'*
ol i go nabaut plesples nabaut	*'each (group) went to a different village'*
mambu i pundaun long saitsait bilong haus	*'the gutter fell down on several sides of the house'*
mi gat planti suasua nabaut	*'I have got sores all over'*
ol i go painim talingatalinga nabaut long bus	*'they went mushrooming in the bush'*

Reduplication at phrase-level involves the repetition of entire noun phrases, and is a syntactic rather than lexical phenomenon:

NGP	Gloss
ol i go narapela ples narapela ples	*'each (group) went to a different place'*
wanem ples wanem ples ol i go singsing ...	*'to whatever place they went to participate in a feast ...'*

RD Program 13: (N + N) N → N bilong N

'relative of a relative'

This program accounts for a small number of word-level reduplicated noun bases expressing some distant family relationship, as in:

NGP	Gloss
ol pikininipikinini bilong en	*'his children's children'*
tumbunatumbuna	*'a remote ancestor'*
em i kandarekandare bilong mi; famili i go longwe nau	*'he is a distant relative from the mother's side of the family'*

5.6. SUMMARY

The formation of derived lexical items from a relatively small stock of lexical bases is central to the grammar of expanded NGP. A knowledge of the various programs underlying the formation of lexical items enables the speakers of NGP to communicate efficiently about a wide range of topics. In addition, the presence of such regularities in the lexicon must be regarded as an important factor accounting for the relative simplicity of this language and the ease with which it can be acquired in a relatively short time.

The programs described in the present chapter are the result of natural linguistic growth rather than conscious planning. Whilst numerous regularities can be pointed out, one also finds many exceptions, partial exceptions, and overlap in the range of functions of a number of programs. Whilst this means that the lexicon of NGP is far from being maximally regular and efficient, it does contribute to lexical choice and resulting stylistic flexibility.

NGP is still in a state of rapid structural expansion. Not only are new lexical items, accounted for by the various programs, being added all the time, but new regularities and subregularities are equally likely to emerge. The system of formation of lexical items described here represents fluent second-language NGP and may appear conservative when compared to the lexical systems of the various varieties of creolised NGP.

CHAPTER 6

VOCABULARY PLANNING FOR NGP

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Whilst Chapters 4 and 5 were concerned with the past and present of NGP's lexicon, the present chapter will deal with its linguistic future, in particular the role of vocabulary planning.

NGP finds itself in a phase of rapid functional expansion, and the new communicative uses to which it is put require continued expansion of its lexicon.[1] Whilst NGP speakers have exhibited great ingenuity in dealing with new topics of discourse, it is found increasingly that *ad hoc* innovations contribute to its compartmentalisation into socially and regionally restricted dialects, and there are also signs that continued borrowing is putting considerable strain on NGP's syncretic capacity.

The present chapter will deal with both standardisation and lexical expansion. A principal aim is to show how an insight into the nature of NGP's lexicon together with a knowledge of certain general principles of vocabulary planning can be used to provide a lexicon which meets the requirements of the users of this language.

6.2. GROWTH TENDENCIES IN NGP'S LEXICON

Predictions about the linguistic future of NGP are difficult to make, since its linguistic growth is dependent on political decisions and changes in social conditions. The consequences of Papua New Guinea's

[1] This stage in the development of languages has been characterised as follows by Tauli (1968:68-9): "All languages which have had contacts with more complex culture have had periods where a flood of new ideas has made necessary the mass production of new words."

independence, in particular, can only be guessed at. The following remarks on NGP's linguistic future are based on the assumption that present trends will continue.[1]

The two main tendencies in NGP's development which are likely to continue for some time are i) its diversification into social varieties, and ii) an increase in the linguistic complexity of its lexicon. The developments which have led to sociolectal diversification have been discussed in Chapter 3, whilst the linguistic properties of two main sociolects of Urban and Rural Pidgin have been discussed in section 4.5.3. and Chapter 5. It is likely that these two sociolects will grow further apart, not only because of the dependence of Urban Pidgin on English for additions to its lexical inventory but also because of the continued restructuring of its existing lexicon under the impact of its lexifier language. The lexicon of Rural Pidgin, on the other hand, is enriched mainly by recourse to internal resources. In addition, expansion using these two mechanisms may be manifested differently in different localities. If NGP is to remain a medium of intercommunication, the problem of the increasing number of parallel forms in its social and regional varieties has to be faced.

Diversification is manifested not only in regional and social varieties but also along the stylistic dimension.[2] It is to be expected that the number of stylistic variants available in the NGP lexicon will further increase with its becoming the first language or the means of self-expression for an ever increasing number of speakers (cf. section 3.4.5.).

The same factors are also likely to promote a further increase in the power of NGP's derivational lexicon. In particular, the tendency for multiple derivation to become accepted, the shift from phrase- to word-formation and the development of new lexical programs can be expected to continue. Again, the development of derivational depth and productive power will be manifested differently in different localities. Many innovations are thus likely to disappear because they are not accepted by a large section of the NGP-using community.

The tentative prognosis for NGP's future linguistic growth is thus that its speakers will find ways and means of overcoming its referential

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[1] Possible alternative developments include the successful replacement of NGP by English or the development of a diglossic situation in which parts of NGP's communicative functions are taken over by another language.

[2] Stylistic diversification does not result in a loss of communicative efficiency since new levels of style do not replace the common core of NGP which is used in intertribal and interregional communication.

shortcomings and increasing its stylistic flexibility.[1] However, this will be a difficult process, since innovations are likely to be restricted to small groups of speakers in many cases, and communication across social and geographic boundaries on new fields of discourse may involve considerable problems. One of the first tasks of vocabulary planning will thus be to arrive at an exhaustive account of lexical differences and propose criteria for standardisation. These will now be discussed briefly.

6.3. GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF STANDARDISATION AND VOCABULARY PLANNING

Until recently standardisation of NGP was not seen as a major problem but rather one which concerned communication between mission and government groups and the native population rather than communication among the members of the latter group. Thus, in order to bring about effective 'vertical' communication, a number of mission bodies devised certain standard versions of NGP (cf. subsection 4.4.2.2.). The need to introduce nation-wide standardisation was felt only in the mid 1950s, again as a result of the desire of various missions to have at hand an effective lingua franca (for discussion cf. Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock 1977).

At a meeting of the Committee on Language in 1955, the Madang variety of Rural Pidgin was chosen as the standard variety, partly because of the geographically central position of this dialect, partly because of its independence from English influence. Whilst Rural Madang Pidgin was adequate as a basis for standardisation in the 1950s, there are signs that this is no longer the case and that the base for standardisation must be considerably broadened. Thus Sankoff (1975a:102-7) has drawn attention to the fact that first-language Urban Pidgin should not be overlooked by anyone who wishes to develop NGP, whilst Wurm (1975b) has pointed out that a number of second-language varieties of NGP exhibit syntactic and lexical sophistication which is absent in Madang Pidgin. The present author is concerned about the lack of attention that is given to some highly developed varieties of Islands Pidgin, in particular

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[1] However, in times of rapid social and technological change, the linguistic development may lag behind. The innovative creativity of NGP speakers should not be overestimated. The situation with regard to this language is similar to the one observed with Haitian Creole by Valdman. Speaking about the ways in which speakers of Haitian Creole cope with the new topics of discourse beyond home, hearth and field, Valdman (1973:522) observes:

> This is not to say that these new topics of discourse could not be handled with the core Creole lexicon, but that the average speaker cannot readily expand his lexicon by means of deliberate creation and by exclusive recourse to internal resources, nor can he move with ease into new topics of discourse unless the way is prepared for him by language planners.

the varieties spoken on Manus Island.[1] This all points to a growing consensus that standard NGP should no longer be based on any single variety but should incorporate syntactic and lexical devices from a number of varieties. Furthermore, because of the tendency of most varieties of NGP to become structurally more sophisticated, language standardisation should rely heavily on those varieties which exhibit the greatest amount of referential potential and systematic adequacy, two concepts which will be discussed shortly.

Of greater importance than the discussion of the geographical basis for standard NGP is the problem of finding criteria for the evaluation of the adequacy of the social and regional varieties of NGP, as well as that of proposed changes and innovations in a standard variety. Among such criteria, the following ones are considered to be of most importance:

i) **referential adequacy**: this refers to "the capacity of the language to meet the needs of its users as an instrument of referential meaning." (Haugen 1966:62)

ii) **systematic adequacy**: this means that the lexicon should be a structured system approaching maximum economy and efficiency. A highly developed derivational lexicon is the principal source of systematic adequacy.

iii) **acceptability**: this means that "a form must be adopted or adoptable by the lead of whatever society or sub-society is involved." (Haugen 1966:64)

Subordinate to these considerations are others, such as euphony, brevity,[2] and symmetry between expression and content, which are listed and discussed by Tauli (1968:38f.).

Before these principles and their applicability to NGP are discussed it is necessary to point to a number of criteria specific to NGP:

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[1] It is also unfortunate that Rabaul Pidgin, which served as the standard variety of NGP before the outbreak of World War II, has been relatively neglected in recent years. Valuable lexicographical work such as that by Dahmen (1957) has not received the attention it deserves. Finally, it can be expected that Highlands Pidgin will continue to grow in importance and that in future the bulk of NGP speakers will be Highlanders. Some notes on the lexicon of Highlands Pidgin are given in subsection 4.8.3.2.

[2] As a rule, the length of a lexical item should be determined by its frequency of occurrence. This means that compounding, lexical phrase formation and circumlocution should be reserved as a means of expressing less frequently used concepts. Recent work by Mayerthaler (1978) on morphological iconism contains valuable observations on the optimal encoding of various types of lexical information, including remarks on word length.

iv) NGP is used as a second language by the majority of its speakers. Its special status as a lingua franca makes it essential that it should remain an easy language to learn.

v) There is a special relationship between NGP and its principal lexifier language, English. Many speakers of Urban Pidgin have some knowledge of English and consider English to be the natural source for lexical expansion.[1]

vi) By virtue of being a pidgin language NGP exhibits structural characteristics of both English and Melanesian languages. In a number of areas, particularly with regard to semantic fields, the two linguistic systems giving rise to NGP may be in conflict. Whilst this conflict has been resolved in the past in favour of a Melanesian semantic organisation, increased borrowing from English has led to the breakdown of a number of semantic structures. Thus, the compatibility of the various semantic subsystems of NGP must be carefully examined.

vii) At present the functions of the vernaculars, NGP, and English are complementary. Though NGP serves in a large number of situational contexts, it can cope neither with the complexities of the social and religious systems of traditional societies nor with those of modern Western technology. Whether NGP will come to function in additional contexts will depend on official language and education policies.

viii) Related to the last point is the question of the ideological orientation of language planning. The choices faced are westernisation of the language, a development based on local models, or a compromise between these two solutions.[2]

The role of language planning and the implementation of language policies for NGP have been discussed by many, including Freyberg (1975: 28-35), Laycock (1975a: 43-50), Noel (1975:76-84), Pineau (1975:96-101), Wurm (1975a:108-17) and Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock (1977). The author therefore will restrict the discussion of vocabulary planning to the more technical aspects of determining NGP's lexical adequacy and its implications for vocabulary planning.

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[1] Laycock (1975a:48-9) suggests that other languages such as Tolai, Hiri Motu and other vernaculars should be considered as sources for lexical innovation, in particular in the semantic domains of local culture, flora and fauna.

[2] One of the main dangers of adapting western modes of expression is that of continued cultural colonialism. This problem has been discussed in detail by van den Berghe in *Transition* 7/34:19-23 (1968).

6.4. EVALUATION OF THE LEXICON OF PRESENT-DAY NGP

6.4.1. *INTRODUCTION*

Preceding any attempt to change or supplement the lexicon of NGP must be an evaluation of its adequacy. Though much has been said about this in the past, pronouncements on NGP's adequacy were based on impressions rather than factual evidence. As a consequence, language planning such as has been carried out by the missions and the government over the last fifty years often failed to increase the adequacy of the NGP lexicon.

6.4.2. *THE DEBATE ABOUT NGP'S REFERENTIAL ADEQUACY*

The question of the referential adequacy of NGP's lexicon has to be kept separate from that of the lexical competence of its speakers. Since NGP is used as a second language by most of its speakers, lexical competence, particularly among speakers of the marginal varieties (Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin), is often quite limited. Poor knowledge of the NGP lexicon has been one of the main reasons for the fast rate of lexical replacement in this language.

With regard to NGP's capacity to meet the needs of its users as an instrument of referential meaning, there are two schools of thought. On the one hand it is argued that "Pidgin is adequate in both vocabulary and concepts for whatever use the main body of Pidgin speakers wishes to make of it." (Steinbauer 1969:8). Similarly, in a report published by the Department of Education (1955:3), it is claimed that "Pidgin can express anything that English can express without ambiguity." Similar claims have been made more recently by Noel (1975:81) and Pineau (1975: 96).

On the other hand, there are observations, such as that by Wolfers (1971:416) on NGP as the language of national politics and those by Scott (1977) on NGP as the language of agriculture, which indicate that the existing lexical resources of NGP are quite inadequate to deal with some of the new situations in which it is used. Scott (1977:731) points out that:

> ... the pidgin of the past will be adequate to the tasks of concrete and action-oriented things, but it will need a massive infusion of simple and uncluttered English and adapted English terminology to meet the needs of our farmers. Without such growth and development the farmers of this country will find that they are limited in their ability to participate in the formulation of plans of development in much the same way as they were limited by the language of the original white settlers.

Wurm (1975a:109) supports the idea that NGP "may display some deficiencies when looked upon as a means of general intercommunication on an advanced

level" and advocates the establishment of an official body of language planners who would look after lexical enrichment.

The two opposing views about the adequacy of NGP's lexicon are encountered in numerous other publications. Its adequacy can only be discussed meaningfully, however, once attention is paid to the following considerations:

i) There is a desperate need for more observations of difficulties encountered by NGP speakers due to lexical shortcomings of the language, e.g. misinterpretation because of homophony, the lack of technical vocabulary in areas such as medical work or agriculture, interpretation of NGP in situations such as listening to radio broadcasts, where little extralinguistic information is available to a hearer.[1]

ii) Attention must be paid not only to what can be said in NGP but also to how it can be said. Many concepts can be explained through lengthy circumlocution but there is no evidence that *ad hoc* circumlocution will be understood by the hearer as intended by the speaker. In addition "there is evidence to suggest that the development of relatively inefficient thinking strategies based on circumlocutory expression can inhibit the later development of more efficient strategies of thinking in a second language." (Smith 1969:22)

iii) The notion of referential adequacy needs to be further refined. In particular, the inventory of lexical bases in NGP should not be taken as its measure, nor should word-level items only be taken into consideration.

This last point will now be further discussed.

6.4.3. *REFERENTIAL ADEQUACY AND LEXICAL BASES*

Leaving aside considerations of NGP's derivational lexicon for the moment, the principal reason why the same amount of referential meaning is conveyed in NGP by a much smaller number of lexical bases than in English appears to be the lack of synonyms in NGP. This is felt, for instance, in the absence of stylistic variants or in the absence of lexical bases with identical referential meaning but different co-occurrence restrictions.

Thus, an important difference between the lexicons of NGP and English is that lexical bases of NGP are typically of simple semantic content

[1] A detailed study of one area of misunderstanding, i.e. the interpretation of a government pamphlet on agriculture, is given by Franklin (1975:138-49). Most other accounts of breakdown in communication are either not specific enough or merely anecdotal. More research in this field is urgently needed.

and that complex semantic content is encountered only with lexically derived items. In contrast, English lexical bases are the repository of either a large number of semantic components or else are subject to complex co-occurrence restrictions (cf. also subchapter 2.4.). It is not possible to point out all the complex semantic conditions found with lexical bases in English. Instead, the author will illustrate with a few examples how English expresses the same referential meaning as NGP with a number of lexical items according to certain co-occurrence restrictions.

A group of nouns in English which exhibits complex co-occurrence restrictions is that referring to *'a small separate quantity of'*. According to the form and substance of the item to which reference is made, different nouns have to be chosen. NGP, on the other hand, invariably uses hap *'piece, part'*. Compare:

NGP	English
hap suga	*'a lump of sugar'*
hap gol	*'a nugget of gold'*
hap bret	*'a morsel of bread'*
hap tok	*'a unit of speech'*
hap graun	*'a plot of land, a clod of earth'*
hap diwai	*'a block of wood'*

The conditions for the proper use of a second set of nouns with the same referential properties do not lie in the substance and shape of the nouns they modify but in temporal conditions. Thus, the time of day at which food is eaten is one of the parameters determining what a meal is called, NGP kaikai *'food, meal'* being rendered in English by several nouns. Compare:

NGP	English
kaikai (long moning)	*'breakfast'*
kaikai (long belo)	*'lunch'*
kaikai (long apinun)	*'tea'*
kaikai (long nait)	*'dinner, supper'*

Complex semantic conditions with English verb bases include conditions on the subjects, as in the case of verbs referring to noises made by certain animals or instruments. Whilst NGP uses singaut *'call'* in all instances, a number of distinctions are made in English. Compare:

NGP	English
laien i singaut	*'the lion roars'*
meme i singaut	*'the goat bleats'*

NGP	English
dok i singaut	*'the dog barks'*
belo i singaut	*'the bell rings'*
kakaruk i singaut	*'the rooster crows'*
bel i singaut	*'the stomach rumbles'*

Co-occurrence conditions involving the semantic properties of the object of verbs are found in the English equivalents of NGP kaikai *'to eat'*:

NGP	English
kaikai	*'to eat, feed'*
kaikai (gras, kunai)	*'to graze'*
kaikai (lip)	*'to browse'*
kaikai (buai)	*'to chew (betelnut)'*

Co-occurrence conditions involving the object are also found with the English equivalents of NGP bagarapim:

NGP	English
bagarapim kaikai	*'to spoil the food'*
bagarapim kar	*'to damage or ruin a car'*
bagarapim lek	*'to injure a leg'*
bagarapim gutpela sindaun	*'to corrupt the morals'*

Laycock has drawn attention to a similar case, namely that of the English verbs *'to sue'* (for a civil wrong) and *'to prosecute'* (for a criminal wrong). Since this distinction can be expressed unambiguously in the immediate linguistic context or by the choice of different indirect objects, it is not necessary to introduce it into the verb. "The existing Pidgin word kotim *'to bring to trial'* will serve both." (Laycock 1969:13).

With verbs referring to various ways of preparing solid food, English distinguishes not only between the properties of the object but also the locality or instrument involved in the process. Whilst NGP distinguishes primarily between mumuim *'to steam with heated stones in a pit'* and kukim *'to prepare solid food'* only, English distinguishes further between *'to bake'*, *'to roast'*, *'to grill'*, *'to braise'*, etc.

As in the case of verb and noun bases, NGP adjective bases typically have much less complex co-occurrence restrictions than their English counterparts, as is illustrated with bikpela and longpela:

	with objects	animals and humans	humans	female humans
English:	*'thick'*	*'fat'*	*'plump, stout'*	*'buxom'*
NGP:	bikpela	bikpela	bikpela	bikpela
English:	*'high, long'*	*'tall'*		
NGP:	longpela	longpela		

It is hoped that a more detailed contrastive semantic analysis of the lexicons of NGP and English will be made.[1] However, even a brief sketch such as the one just given should suffice to illustrate that a large number of lexical bases is not necessarily an indication of great referential adequacy.

This is an important consideration in vocabulary planning, particularly since a number of writers have proposed, in recent years, the introduction of lexical items which do not increase NGP's referential potential. An example are certain innovations listed by Balint (1969), including:

Proposed new item	Referential meaning already expressed by	Gloss
londriim	wasim	*'to wash (clothes)'*
kusen	pilo	*'cushion'*
slais	hap	*'slice'*
rousim	kukim	*'to roast'*

A second proposal is that made by Healey (1975:39): "For example, 'game', 'beef', 'mutton' and 'shell foods' would be handy words to include in the Pidgin vocabulary as there really is no simple way now to distinguish varieties of meat and their source."

The author fails to see why these words are necessary or even handy since the distinction between various meats and their source is unambiguously expressed in the verbs used,[2] as in tanim pik *'to prepare a pork dish'* against sutim pik *'to shoot a pig'*. A further reason why the introduction of an item pok *'pork'* is uncalled for, is the possible

[1]Significant progress in the contrastive study of language structure and language use has been made in recent years, as is documented, for instance, by the large number of papers on these topics presented at the 1975 AILA World Congress in Stuttgart.

[2]In fact, English is one of the few languages in which this distinction is made, this being a result of French influence on its vocabulary. Again, names for varieties of meat are available only for a small number of animals which do not necessarily reflect the eating habits of Papua New Guineans. It is interesting to note that, in the days of cannibalism, Pacific Pidgin English had a special item longpela pik to refer to *'human flesh'*.

confusion with pok *'fork'*. Nevertheless, both pok *'pork'* and bif *'beef'* have been introduced by Balint (1969).

Intuitions about simplification of the lexicon[1] appear to have been relatively undeveloped with those who have been responsible for the introduction of new lexical bases into NGP to date, and a linguistic analysis of the referential potential of NGP lexical bases should rank high among the priorities of future vocabulary planners.

6.4.4. *REFERENTIAL ADEQUACY OF NGP'S DERIVATIONAL LEXICON*

The discussion of referential adequacy so far has focussed on the demonstration that lexical bases of NGP typically do not accommodate non-referential semantic information (such as information about co-occurrence restrictions). The present section will deal with the observation that referential semantic information in NGP is often derived from basic information by means of lexical derivation. The various programs of lexical derivation presented in Chapter 5 give an indication of the power of NGP's derivational lexicon, and it is hoped that future vocabulary planners will make increased use of this source.[2]

Certain referential semantic information in NGP is virtually always derived. This can be illustrated, for instance, with a number of phrase- and word-level compounds, whose important role in NGP has already been briefly mentioned in subsection 4.3.3.4. Consider the following:

a) Lexical items containing the meaning *'activity'* are usually lexical phrases involving the item wok *'work, activity'*, as in:

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
wok ami	*'work army'*	*'defence'*
wok balus	*'work plane'*	*'aviation'*
wok bembe	*'work cargo magic'*	*'cargo cult'*
wok brotkas	*'work broadcast'*	*'broadcasting'*
wok bung	*'work unite'*	*'collaboration'*
wok dokta	*'work doctor'*	*'health service'*
wok gaden	*'work garden'*	*'agriculture'*

[1] It can be observed in the 'foreigner talk' register of languages such as English and German that intuitions about lexical specification are generally much less developed than intuitions about the simplification of phonological or syntactic patterns.

[2] This view is now widely shared by linguists. Most recently Wurm states in the ANU Reporter of 27 February 1976: "There is an urgent need in Papua New Guinea for the creation of new terms in pidgin for new concepts through the utilization of the capabilities of the pidgin language itself."

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
wok gavman	*'work government'*	*'administration'*
wok kot	*'work court'*	*'justice'*
wok lukaut	*'work look after'*	*'trusteeship'*
wok marimari	*'work pity'*	*'charity'*
wok nes	*'work nurse'*	*'nursing'*
wok prin	*'work print'*	*'printing'*
wok skul	*'work school'*	*'education'*
wok sori	*'work sorry'*	*'penance'*
wok tisa	*'work teacher'*	*'teaching'*
wok wailis	*'work wireless'*	*'telegraphy'*

Since wok can function as a noun as well as a verb, all of the above lexical phrases can also be used verbally, as in mi wok tisa *'I am teaching'*, mi wok gaden *'I do gardening'*, and so forth.

b) Lexical items containing the semantic element *'talk'* are usually lexical phrases consisting of tok and a second lexical item. Again, these phrases can be used both verbally and nominally. Compare:

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
tok agens	*'talk against'*	*'to oppose; verbal opposition'*
tok gumi	*'talk rubber'*	*'to tell a tall tale; tale'*
tok hamamas	*'talk glad'*	*'to congratulate; congratulation'*
tok Inglis	*'talk English'*	*'to speak English; English'*
tok kros	*'talk cross'*	*'to scold; scolding'*
tok piksa	*'talk picture'*	*'to speak metaphorically; metaphor'*
tok pisin	*'talk pidgin'*	*'to speak NGP; NGP'*
tok tenkyu	*'talk thank you'*	*'to thank; thanks'*
tok win	*'talk wind'*	*'to spread a rumour; rumour'*

c) Buildings and localities which provide shelter to humans or animals are referred to by compounds or lexical phrases containing the element haus *'building, nest, cabin, etc.'*. As in the previous two examples, such lexical items, though superficially similar, must be interpreted in terms of a number of different lexical programs. Compare:

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
haus draiwa	*'house driver'*	*'driver's cabin'*
haus kiap	*'house patrol officer'*	*'government rest hut'*
haus lotu	*'house worship'*	*'church'*
haus mani	*'house money'*	*'bank'*
haus marit	*'house married'*	*'married quarters'*

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
haus paia	*'house fire'*	*'copra dryer'*
haus pam	*'house pump'*	*'flush toilet'*
haus pekpek	*'house faeces'*	*'latrine'*
haus pisin	*'house bird'*	*'bird's nest'*
haus pos	*'house post'*	*'post office'*
haus saua	*'house shower'*	*'shower cabin'*
haus sik	*'house sickness'*	*'hospital'*
haus slip	*'house sleep'*	*'bedroom'*
haus spaida	*'house spider'*	*'spider's web'*
haus wok	*'house work'*	*'workshop'*

d) Localities which do not provide shelter but which either have prominent physical characteristics or are important for certain human activities are usually signalled by lexical phrases containing the element ples, as in:

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
ples balus	*'place aeroplane'*	*'airfield'*
ples daiman	*'place dead man'*	*'cemetery'*
ples daun	*'place down'*	*'valley'*
ples kik	*'place kick'*	*'soccer field'*
ples klia	*'place clear'*	*'clearing'*
ples matmat	*'place grave'*	*'cemetery'*
ples waswas	*'place bathe'*	*'bathing place'*

e) Lexical items referring to various kinds of people are typically compounds or lexical phrases containing one of the following elements: man *'person in general, man'*, meri *'(indigenous) woman'*, masta *'European man'*, boi *'indigenous man in European employment'*, misis *'European woman'*, the last three now being less common because they signal social inequalities. Examples of this type of compound include:

NGP	Literal translation	Gloss
kaisman	*'left man'*	*'left-handed person'*
kamman	*'come man'*	*'new arrival'*
loman	*'law man'*	*'generous person'*
masman	*'march man'*	*'marcher'*
peman	*'pay man'*	*'redeemer, paymaster'*
polisman	*'police man'*	*'policeman'*
sikman	*'sick man'*	*'patient'*
slekman	*'slack man'*	*'lazy person'*
stuaman	*'store man'*	*'storekeeper'*

Apart from compounding and other types of lexical derivation, new referential information in NGP is also obtained by certain syntactic means. Thus, the use of aspect markers with verb bases adds features such as 'inception', 'completion', 'direction towards', and other information which is not expressed overtly in English (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975a: 23-5; and 4.3.2.2.5.). Grammatical markers, in particular number markers, are also found with nouns, where they add information such as 'countable', 'mass',[1] and other information discussed by Mühlhäusler (1975b: 21-37).

Thus, a small number of lexical bases together with various lexical and syntactic devices, provide a vast amount of semantic information, such as is needed to meet the referential requirements of NGP speakers in most situations. The main limitations of NGP's lexicon at present are the lack of conventions for the derivation of nomenclatures[2], such as are needed in the context of technical skills and scientific discussion, and the lack of stylistic variants.

6.4.5. *SYSTEMATIC ADEQUACY OF NGP'S LEXICON*

An understanding of NGP's referential potential will provide criteria for determining what can be said with the existing inventory of basic and derived lexical items and, more important, if proposed innovations increase this referential potential or merely duplicate existing forms. An understanding of the systematic adequacy of NGP's lexicon, on the other hand, will enable vocabulary planners to determine whether existing lexical items fit into given lexical structures of the language and, in

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[1] The use of the plural marker is illustrated in pairs such as:

Singular		Plural	
wanpela ami	*'a soldier'*	ol ami	*'the army'*
wanpela polis	*'a policeman'*	ol polis	*'the police force'*
wanpela gavman	*'a member of the government'*	ol gavman	*'the government'*

However, this convention is restricted to a few varieties of NGP only.

[2] Exceptions are the names for certain animals or plants which have been discussed in subsection 4.4.3.1. The nomenclatory and terminological lexicon tends to be relatively separate from other parts of the lexicon (cf. Coseriu 1970:13ff.). The role of vocabulary planning in providing nomenclature has been discussed, e.g. by Tauli (1968:123-6). Nomenclatory innovations for NGP have been made in an *ad hoc* way so far, with the result that different conventions are found in different localities. An example is two recent efforts to provide terms for grammatical description. Compare:

English	Terms proposed by Balint 1972	Terms proposed by Strange 1975
'noun'	nem	nem bilong samting
'verb'	taimtok	tok wok
'adjective'	makimnem	toksave
'preposition'	biponem	tok bilong skruim o joinim tok

addition, will provide criteria for choosing between proposed innovations needed for meeting certain referential requirements.

As has been pointed out in the discussion of the sociolects of Tok Masta (4.8.2.1.) and Urban Pidgin (4.5.3.), NGP's syncretic capacity is not unlimited, and many new lexical items cannot be integrated into its lexicon without affecting its structure. If the character of NGP is to be maintained, vocabulary planners have to abandon the notion of the lexicon being a simple list to which new items can be added. Instead, proposed innovations have to be judged in terms of the following criteria:

i) Potential confusion with already existing items
The danger of confusion is greatest in the case of new homophones or near-homophones (cf. 4.5.2.3.), polymorphemic loans whose morphemes are homophonous with existing items (cf. Sadler 1974a:7), and in those cases where the meaning of existing items is expanded in accordance with an English model (cf. 4.5.2.5.3.).

ii) Compatibility with existing morpheme and word structure conventions
As observed by Laycock (1969:13) "many English words do not fit well into Pidgin pronunciation and orthography."

iii) The status of innovations with regard to NGP's derivational lexicon
This point concerns the decision whether a new item should be a lexical base or a derived lexical item.

iv) Compatibility with existing semantic field organisation
In some areas of lexical semantics the introduction of a single new item may result in the restructuring of a whole lexical field.

These four principles will now be further discussed with special reference to lexical innovations which have been proposed and promoted by various individuals and agencies in recent years.

6.4.5.1. Confusion of New Loans with Existing Lexical Items

In spite of warnings that indiscriminate borrowing of English lexical bases "could well overload the language with forms that sound the same but have different meanings" (Laycock 1969:13), individuals concerned with the improvement of NGP's referential adequacy appear to have paid little heed to this consideration. Thus, Balint (1969) introduces a number of new loans, including:

English	Balint 1969	NGP terms already expressing the concept	Homophones
'bright'	brait[1]	i lait	brait *'wide, width'*
'tap'	tep	ki	tep *'tape'*
'pair'	pe	tupela	pe *'pay'*
'pear'	pe	-	
'poppy'	popi	-	popi *'Catholic'*
'snack'	snek	liklik kaikai	snek *'snake'*
'sole'	sol	ananit bilong su	sol *'salt'* sol *'shoulder'* sol *'soul'*
'toothpaste'	pes bilong klinim tit	marasin bilong klinim tit	pes *'face'* pes *'first'*

A number of new homophones[2] have also been recently introduced into official NGP, including:

New item		Existing homophone	
bot	*'board'*	bot	*'boat'*
fis	*'fees'*	pis	*'fish'*
lif	*'leave, permission'*	lip	*'leaf, lip'*
seven	*'servant'*	seven	*'seven'*

A particularly unfortunate new expression is pasim lo *'to pass a law'* because of the existence of the item pasim *'to obstruct'* in standard NGP. A related problem is that found with the introduction of borrowed polymorphemic words or higher-level lexical items. Sadler's objections (1974a:7f.) against innovations such as sitisensip *'citizenship'* on the grounds that this loan contains syllables which can be interpreted by speakers of NGP as si *'waves'*, ti *'tea'*, sen *'chain'* and sip *'ship'* appear to exaggerate the dangers, though Bee's analysis of NGP spoken and interpreted by native speakers of Usarufa (1972:69-95) confirms that some speakers of NGP may come up with such unlikely interpretations. However, most fluent second language NGP speakers will not interpret praimeri *'primary'* as being composed of prai *'to fry'* and meri *'girl'*,

[1] The expression em i brait tumas *'this is too fancy'* in Balint's gloss (1969:32) is more likely to be interpreted as *'this is too wide'*.

[2] In a number of cases homophony of semantically related items may result in conflation. An example is that of trakta, from English *'director'*, and *'tractor'* which is interpreted as *'s.o. or s.th. that pulls'* (cf. subsection 4.3.2.3.).

as suggested by Sadler, nor is there much danger that sitia *'steer'* will be interpreted as sit ya *'this shit'* when given in linguistic context. However, some very unfortunate innovations introduced by the former Australian administration were selek komiti *'select committee'*, which was interpreted as slek komiti *'a slack village committee member'*, and investim mani *'to invest money'*, which is easily confused with westim mani *'to waste money'*.

A last source of likely misinterpretation of innovations are those cases where new referential adequacy is gained by adding semantic information to existing lexical items, a method which has been suggested by a number of writers, for instance Sadler (1974b:7). Whilst this proposal may be feasible in some instances, one must remember that the introduction of new semantic information will not always agree with the semantic redundancy rules and conventions for metaphorical expansion of meaning in NGP.[1] In particular, adding new semantic information which corresponds to English idioms may lead to comprehension difficulties for the average NGP speaker, a point also stressed by McElhanon (1975:62-3). One is left to wonder how the average speaker of Rural Pidgin would handle the added semantic information in the following examples:

Basic meaning in NGP		Meaning in recent innovations	
rait	*'right-hand'*	gat rait	*'to have the right'*
sutim	*'to shoot'*	sutim piksa	*'to shoot a film'*
poin	*'promontory, point'*	gutpela poin	*'a good point'*
dresim	*'to put on a dress'*	dresim wund	*'to dress a wound'*
ronim	*'to chase'*	ronim bisnis	*'to run a business'*
graun	*'earth, soil, land'*	sograun	*'showground'*

6.4.5.2. Morpheme and Word Structure Rules

Whilst the introduction of a new lexical base may seem preferable to the creation of a new item from internal resources, language planners have to be aware of what Whinnom (1971:94) has called 'the mechanical barrier', i.e. the difficulty of adapting phonologically complex and polymorphemic loans to NGP's phonological system.[2] Thus, Laycock

[1] The feasibility of semantic expansion depends, among other factors, on whether a lexical item is derived or basic, lexical bases being typically more susceptible to an expansion of meaning (cf. Tauli 1968:83).

[2] It has not been sufficiently acknowledged that NGP phonology differs from that of English not only with regard to segmental properties but also with regard to conditions on morpheme and word structure.

(1969:13) points out the difficulty for NGP to "assimilate English consonant clusters without a great deal of indigestion", though rephonologisation can overcome this problem in most instances.

More difficult to overcome is the barrier on phonological and morphological composition of NGP word-level items. As a rule new bases should not contain more than three syllables and should preferably be monomorphemic. Loans such as **administreta** *'administrator'*, **kompetisin** *'competition'* or **livovabsens** *'leave of absence'* are difficult to assimilate because of their excessive length and because they contain derivational affixes which are non-functional in NGP. The least desirable instances of borrowing are those in which whole lexical phrases from English are simply respelled in NGP, such as **komen rol** *'common roll'*, or **nesenel yuniti** *'national unity'*. The chances that these items are not understood by the majority of NGP speakers are very high. It may be more appropriate to borrow phonologically more acceptable terms from a local language such as Tolai or Hiri Motu where shorter lexical items may be available.

Mihalic (1977:1118-19) also supports this observation, pointing out the dangers of introducing complex English terms into NGP:

> He [the journalist] passes off as Pidgin such terms as "Unitori o Federal Gavman sistem", "Baikameral o Yunikameral sistem", "Edministretas Eksekativ Kaunsil". These terms have been taken directly out of the English version of the Constitutional Planning Committee's instruction sheet. They are a good example of what also happens in newspapers. And of course, then they communicate nothing.

Again, the existence of mechanical barriers against borrowing of certain lexical material from outside sources has been ignored by most agencies concerned with the introduction of new items into NGP, and expressions such as **liaison ofisa** *'liaison officer'*, **konstitusenel divelopmen** *'constitutional development'* or **kot ov disputed returns** *'court of disputed returns'* continue to be introduced into written NGP and radio broadcasts.

6.4.5.3. NGP's Derivational Lexicon and Borrowing

The decision whether a new lexical item should be a loan from an outside source or be derived from NGP's internal resources is not an arbitrary one. As has been pointed out above (6.4.4.), certain semantic information in NGP is typically derived information, and failure to recognise this will lead to the establishment of exceptions to existing patterns of lexical derivations, (lexical suppletion).[1]

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[1] (see opposite)

Thus, vocabulary planners will have to examine, with regard to proposed items with new referential information, whether such information is already potentially available in NGP's lexicon. In addition it must be remembered that the introduction of a single new base can give rise to a number of new derived items. A brief look at some recent innovations will show that additional referential adequacy is often achieved at the price of losing regularity in NGP's derivational lexicon, a fact which makes NGP a more difficult language to learn.

First, the author will consider innovations which violate the principle that certain semantic features should be expressed in the surface structure of NGP lexical items. Thus, activities which are usually signalled in NGP by lexical phrases involving wok are referred to in recent publications by a number of borrowed lexical bases, as in:

Recently introduced item	Expected form	Gloss
agrikalsa	wok gaden, wok didiman	*'agriculture'*
sastis	wok kot	*'justice'*
helt sevis	wok dokta	*'health service'*
sivil eviesen	wok balus	*'civil aviation'*
brotkasing	wok brotkas	*'broadcasting'*
ensiniring	wok ensin	*'engineering'*

A second example is that of lexical phrases referring to *'s.o. at the top of a hierarchy'*. This concept is expressed in NGP by nambawan *'first, best, important'* plus a nominal, as in nambawan gavman *'governor'* or nambawan dokta *'doctor in charge of a hospital'*. In several recent loans this idea is signalled in a number of different ways:

Recently introduced item	Expected form	Gloss
praim minista	nambawan minista	*'prime minister'*
sif minista	nambawan minista	*'chief minister'*
asbisop	nambawan bisop	*'archbishop'*
pes prais	nambawan prais[1]	*'first prize'*

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1 (from opposite page)

Because of the dual origin of its lexicon, English exhibits a large amount of lexical suppletion (cf. also footnote 2, p.428). Unfortunately, this suppletion is now often borrowed, and the following pairs were also found in Urban Pidgin:

Urban Pidgin	English
kantri - rural	*'country - rural'*
taun - eben	*'town - urban'*
bisop - episkopel	*'bishop - episcopal'*

[1] NGP prais is a homophone derived from English *'price'* and *'prize'*. The expressions nambawan (pes) prais and nambatu (seken) prais are also used in bargaining to mean *'quoted price'* and *'discount price'* respectively.

Again, suppletion is found in those cases where a newly borrowed lexical item refers to either a dwelling or a locality. Compare:

Recently introduced item	Expected form	Gloss
putbal pild	ples kik	*'soccer field'*
sograun	ples so	*'showground'*
epot	ples balus	*'airport'*
woksap	haus wok	*'workshop'*
marit kwata	haus marit	*'married quarters'*
dispenseri	haus marasin	*'dispensary'*

Finally, names for people of certain professions or status, usually signalled in NGP by -man *'man, person'*, are introduced as simple bases, as in:

Recently introduced item	Expected form	Gloss
spika	tokman	*'speaker'*
spoksman	mausman	*'spokesman'*
woka	wokman	*'worker'*
pesen	sikman	*'patient'*
sitisen	kantriman	*'citizen'*
menesa	bosman	*'manager'*

Other nominals referring to persons could be related to other lexical programs, for instance, CP Program 6. Compare:

Recently introduced item	Proposed alternative	Gloss
greduet	pinisskul	*'graduate'*
skul liva	pinisskul	*'school leaver'*
redio anaunsa	ritimnius	*'radio announcer'*
speselis	savewok	*'specialist'*

Ignoring NGP's derivational lexicon has also led to the multiple introduction of new lexical bases, where a single base would have been sufficient. Compare:

Suppletive innovations	Proposed alternative	Gloss
vot - ileksen	vot - vot	*'to vote - election'*
muvim - mosen	muvim - muv	*'to move - motion'*
	mosenim - mosen	*'to move - motion'*
panisim - panismen	panisim - panis	*'to punish - punishment'*
egri - egrimen	tok egri - tok egri	*'to agree - agreement'*
helti - helt	helti - helti	*'healthy - health'*

The above table demonstrates that the same increase in referential adequacy can be achieved with half the number of new loans and with the

additional advantage of having kept intact NGP's derivational lexicon. The examples could be easily multiplied, and it is hoped that future vocabulary planning will pay greater attention to this facet of systematic adequacy. The author hopes that the description of NGP's derivational lexicon in Chapter 5 will serve as a guideline for this.

6.4.5.4. Integration of New Loans into Existing Semantic Fields

An important consideration in assessing the systematic adequacy of new lexical items is their compatibility with existing semantic structures of NGP. Unfortunately, no exhaustive study of its system of lexical semantics has been made to date. Best known are a number of tightly structured semantic fields. A description of these, as well as a discussion of the impact of loans on such fields, has been given above (cf. 4.5.3.1.).

Little is known about semantic redundancy conventions in NGP's lexicon. An illustration on their importance is the convention that NGP verbs are neutral with regard to the semantic feature of volition or purpose, and that the features [+volition] and [-volition] usually depend on the linguistic context in which certain verbs appear. Compare:

NGP	Gloss
sindaun long	*'to sit, live in, settle'*
giaman	*'to be mistaken, lie'*
holim	*'to hold, hold on to'*
lukim	*'to see, look at'*
harim	*'to hear, listen'*
drink	*'to drown, drink'*

The introduction of new lexical items such as setel *'to settle'*, siim *'to see'* or draun *'to drown'* would result in exceptions to this redundancy rule, whilst also reducing the amount of potential ambiguity found with such verbs.

A last, again not yet sufficiently understood, area of lexical semantics which needs to be considered by vocabulary planners is that of metaphorical extension of meaning. It is here that NGP's character as a Melanesian language is most strongly manifested. Two lexical bases, han from English *'hand'* and ai from English *'eye'*, may serve as an illustration. The meaning of NGP han is equivalent to that of a number of lexical items in English. Compare:

NGP	Gloss
han bilong man	*'arm or hand of a person'*
han bilong pik	*'forelegs of a pig, shoulder of pork'*
han bilong wara	*'tributary of a river'*
han bilong hanwas[1]	*'hand of a watch'*
han bilong diwai	*'branch of a tree'*
han bilong siot	*'sleeve of a shirt'*
han bilong sospen	*'handle of a saucepan'*

The introduction of new lexical bases such as am *'arm'*, brens *'branch'*, sliv *'sleeve'* or hendol *'handle'*, all of which have been observed as *ad hoc* innovations in Urban Pidgin by the author, would do little to increase NGP's referential adequacy whilst limiting some of its metaphorical potential.

A similar case is that of ai, which is used to refer to a number of objects which are round and/or protrude, as in:

NGP	Gloss
ai bilong botol	*'lid of a bottle'*
ai bilong haus	*'gable'*
ai bilong pensil	*'pencil point'*
ai bilong sua	*'head of an ulcer'*
ai bilong susu	*'nipple'*

In view of the already established semantic properties of ai, innovations such as lid bilong botol, gebol bilong haus or poin bilong pensil are uncalled for.

A further discussion of NGP's lexical semantics and vocabulary planning is given by Wurm, Mühlhäusler and Laycock (1977).

6.4.5.5. Introducing New Lexical System

Present-day NGP is largely the result of unplanned linguistic growth. This, together with the fact that many developments are the result of linguistic contact, has led to the presence of certain irregularities and conflicts in some areas of the lexicon. Whilst the principal task of vocabularly planners will be that of increasing NGP's referential adequacy whilst preserving its lexical system, an additional concern is a proposal for reducing the idiosyncratic behaviour of many adjective bases and intransitive verbals translating English predicative adjectives.

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[1] The compound hanwas may be thought of as being related to either was i gat han *'a watch which has got hands'* or was i stap long han *'a watch which is on the arm'*.

The idiosyncratic behaviour of these two word classes has been discussed by Wurm (1971a:22-3 and 52-6), Dutton (1973:98-9 and 157-8) and above in this volume (4.3.2.2.4.). The main objections to the behaviour of these classes in NGP at present are:

i) there are no consistent criteria for choosing -pela (so-called adjective suffix)

ii) the positional potential of many word bases is very restricted

iii) there is an acute shortage of attributive adjectives.

A hypothetical solution of these problems would involve the following decisions on the part of the language planner:

i) To restrict the use of -pela to monosyllabic attributive adjectives only. This convention would lead to the following changes:

Forms in present-day NGP	Proposed forms	Gloss
bikpela moran	bikpela moran	*'a big python'*
fri kantri	fripela kantri	*'a free country'*
hamas(pela) sumatin?	hamas sumatin?	*'how many students?'*
liklik wansiling	liklik wansiling	*'a small sum of money'*

As has been pointed out in section 5.3.3., many adjectives used as predicative verbals undergo some changes in semantic information. The difference between those that do and others that do not change semantic features could be signalled, as is done in some varieties of fluent second-language NGP, by adding the suffix -wan *'one'*[1] to adjectives which appear in predicative position without change in semantic information, as in:

Forms in standard NGP	Proposed forms	Gloss
trausis i klin	trausis i klinwan	*'the trousers are clean'*
haus i bikpela	haus i bikwan	*'the house is big'*
spia i sap	spia i sapwan	*'the spear is sharp'*
bris i longpela	bris i longwan	*'the bridge is long'*

Adjectives which change their meaning in predicative position, in particular those which receive a non-static verbal interpretation, would be signalled by zero, as in:

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[1]This is also the way in which monosyllabic adjectives in predicative position are signalled in New Hebridean Bichelamar. In this connection, the question of co-ordinating language planning in NGP, Solomon Islands Pidgin and Bichelamar must be raised. Plans to promote a standard version of Pidgin English for Melanesia have been discussed for several years. However, few attempts have been made to deal with the practical aspects of this plan.

Predicative adjective		Deadjectivised verbal	
strongwan	*'strong'*	strong	*'to be stubborn, insist'*
draiwan	*'dry'*	dry	*'to dry up'*
bikwan	*'big'*	bik	*'to become large, grow'*

ii) The position of attributive adjectives either before or after the noun they modify is not predictable by general rule in present-day NGP, though there are some regularities, such as the one which specifies that negative adjectives beginning with no- usually follow the noun, as in:

NGP	Gloss
man nogut	*'a bad man'*
man noles	*'an eager man'*

However, for some speakers the form em i nogut man *'he is a bad man'* can be heard. Arguing, as does Wurm (1975b), that forms found in some variants of NGP could be used in language planning to increase either systematic or referential adequacy, the author suggests that the use of these negative adjectives in prenominal position should be encouraged.

Moreover, adjective bases listed by Wurm (1971a:55) and Mihalic (1971: 18) as following the noun, are found in some varieties of Rural Pidgin to precede it, as in:

NGP	Gloss
maupela banana	*'a ripe banana'*
trupela tok	*'a true statement'*
slekpela taia	*'a slack tyre'*
daunpela wara	*'a deep river'*
hevi kago	*'a heavy cargo'*
doti pik	*'a dirty pig'*

The tendency for new adjective bases to appear in prenominal position can also be observed un Urban Pidgin as in:

Urban Pidgin	Gloss
jeles lusman	*'spiteful loser'*
spesel mailo	*'special Milo = beer'*
stupit man	*'stupid man'*
rural pipel	*'rural people'*
yusles toktok	*'useless talk'*

It appears that by decreeing that all attributive adjectives in NGP should precede the noun one would replace observed tendencies by a simple categorical rule.

iii) There is a shortage of attributive adjectives in NGP since no such adjectives can be derived from other word bases or derived lexical items. This restriction does not affect NGP's referential adequacy but it affects its stylistic flexibility and also increases syntactic complexity, since many attributive adjectives of English can only be rendered by a relative sentence in NGP. Compare:

NGP	Gloss
pikinini we i les no ken gohet	*'a lazy child will not prosper'*
em i skelim ol bek i pulap	*'he weighed the full bags'*
draiwa i piksim taia i slek	*'the driver fixed the flat tyre'*

The relaxation of the constraint on the use of predicative verb bases and derived verbals as attributive adjectives is already found to occur with some speakers. Thus, the author has recorded:

NGP	Gloss
solpela kaikai	*'salty food'*
welpela rot	*'slippery road'*

New attributive adjectives which could be introduced include:

Present NGP	Proposed innovation	Gloss
usket i bus	buspela usket	*'an unshaven chin'*
man i sak	sakpela man	*'a shark-like person'*
ston i gol	golpela ston	*'a golden stone'*
kaikai i suga	suga kaikai	*'sweet food'*

In conclusion, it must be mentioned that the relaxation of a number of derivational restrictions is a feature of creolised NGP (cf. 4.6.3.3.).

6.4.6. *ACCEPTABILITY OF INNOVATIONS*

Apart from meeting the requirements of referential and systematic adequacy, vocabulary planning must also be concerned with the desires and dislikes of the speech community for whom planning is carried out. This means that proposed changes and innovations should be acceptable to the largest possible part of this community, a consideration which is of particular importance because NGP serves as an inter-regional lingua franca.

Acceptability refers to both linguistic and social acceptability. On the linguistic side, one of the main concerns of vocabulary planners should be that the standard vocabulary is readily understood by a maximum number of speakers. This means that standardisation of NGP should be based on observation of the language in its actual use, in particular

fluent second-language and first-language NGP, and that proposed innovations should be in agreement with existing linguistic tendencies. That new models of grammatical description lend themselves to the prediction of likely (i.e. natural) developments in a language has been shown by Bailey in an article discussing the use of such models in language planning (Bailey 1975:153-7).

For instance, the criterion of systematic adequacy of the lexicon should not be taken as an absolute measure. Like all living languages NGP has its share of exceptions and minor rules. These are accepted as the norm by the majority of its speakers, and to insist on their removal would not only provoke resistance but would make NGP an artificially inflexible system. Fuzzy edges in NGP's derivational lexicon should be seen as manifestations of linguistic change in progress. Instead of arresting such changes, vocabulary planners should learn to recognise their drift and propose new forms accordingly. The principal feature of vocabulary planning should be prediction and not prescription. Attempts in the past to bring NGP closer to English by deliberate changes have failed because these changes were not accepted by the majority of its users. Attempts to restore an older 'classical' variety of NGP, proposed by some writers, such as Sadler (1974a) and Balint (1973:1-31), are equally bound to meet with little enthusiasm from the majority of NGP speakers.[1]

The notion of social acceptability means that the lexicon of NGP should meet the requirements of a democratic and independent nation. An attempt was made in 1969 to remove the most blatantly discriminatory terms from official use, examples being boi *'male indigene'* and manki-masta *'domestic servant'*. Lexical items suggesting outmoded race relations are few, however, as has been pointed out by Healey (1972:10), and the proposed replacements are gaining wide currency.

On the other hand, a number of lexical items suggestive of social control by the missions or authoritarian government agencies continue to

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[1] Thus, M.C. Plummer comments on Balint's alleged proposals to restore a conservative form of NGP in the *Post Courier* of 19 July 1973, p.2:

> With a wave of his linguistic wand he would freeze the Pidgin tongue in that wondrous, golden age, when J.J. Murphy was a mere budling, in that era when (to the delight of the initiates) "baim" meant pay, "peim" meant sell, "selim" meant send, "barata" often possessed mammalia and "sista" wore phallocrypt, and "siubim" meant push.
>
> This was the time when "piano" took longer to say in Pidgin than railway stations do in Welsh, when "radio-active fallout" and "electronic data processing" had not yet appeared in the lexicon and anything else of like difficulty was skilfully evaded by the device "emi wanpela special samting".

be in use. The discussion of sexual and moral matters, for instance, remains difficult if one is to avoid obviously vulgar terms, and if one does not want to resort to morally biased mission terms such as kilim bel *'kill the belly = to abort'* or lusim strong *'lose one's strength = to have a nocturnal emission'*.

Hall (1955c:93) has mentioned a further aspect of social acceptability, namely "the desire of some groups among the more sophisticated non-Europeans to avoid previously existent Neo-Melanesian words or expressions which they consider to carry a connotation of inferiority." This desire is manifested in many lexical replacements encountered in Urban Pidgin. It means that a number of regularly derived lexical items are felt to be inappropriate in certain levels of style or areas of discourse.

An example is that of reduplicated items. Since these typically belong to a certain level of style (vivid conversation or description) and, in addition, are associated with baby talk by many sophisticated users of NGP, vocabulary planners should be careful in attempting to derive new referential semantic information by using this process. Tauli (1968:97) points out:

> Vocabulary planning should take notice of the expressive meaning of reduplication, but it could be used to a rather limited extent in coining new words whose meaning is linked with rhythmic movement or other items mentioned above. A more extensive application of reduplication in modern languages would make a primitive impression.

The author has observed, among many educated speakers of NGP, a tendency to avoid reduplicated lexical bases such as toktok *'to talk'* and tingting *'to think'* and replace them with tok and ting respectively.

Reduplication could be kept and propagated as an optional mechanism for increasing NGP's stylistic flexibility. Some suggestions about the use of reduplication by vocabulary planners have been made by Mühlhäusler (1975f:213).

6.4.7. *STYLISTIC CHOICE*

Related to the problem of social acceptability is that of stylistic choice. Thus, a lexicon which offers no alternatives for expressing the same referential information may rank high on a scale of economy and simplicity but will be felt to lack in non-referential power. It has been shown in the discussion of NGP's diachronic development (subchapter 4.2.) that there is a strong tendency towards greater lexical choice in the later stages of its development. Fluent second-language speakers and first-language speakers appear to have little patience with a lexicon that makes no provision for distinguishing between shades of non-

referential meaning and that, in addition, makes the language appear monotonous.

The main problem with regard to the greater stylistic power of NGP's lexicon is that an increase in stylistic flexibility will complicate the lexicon without gain in referential adequacy, a consideration which is important because the majority of NGP's speakers are second-language speakers.

Thus, vocabulary planners have to consider how stylistic flexibility can be introduced at a minimum cost for the average user of NGP. The two methods which can be adopted are a) the introduction of new lexical bases, and b) the use of derivational programs for changing non-referential meaning of existing bases. Since the first method leads to an increase of unpredictable new forms, it should be used only in those cases where existing ones are socially unacceptable or inappropriate because of excessive length. The second method allows for a great increase in stylistic potential with a minimum complication of the existing lexicon. The use of the various programs of reduplication to obtain variants of existing lexical bases for informal, lively style is one example. Other methods of providing stylistic alternants currently used in fluent second-language and first-language NGP include:

i) Phonological reduction, in particular the loss of epenthetic vowels in fast speech (cf. Pawley 1975:215-28). The use of consonant clusters without epenthetic vowels is also regarded as a feature of educated or official NGP, and pairs such as **klok - kilok** *'clock'* often convey differences in style.

ii) The use of lexical items manifested at different size levels (cf. 4.4.3.2.8.), such as **gris pik - pikgris** *'lard'*, accounts for a significant amount of lexical choice. The tendency observed in NGP to permit word-level items with most programs of compounding could be used by the vocabulary planner to increase the number of size level alternants.

iii) It was found that in some cases a number of lexical programs do identical jobs (cf. 4.4.3.2.5.). In some instances the susceptibility of lexical bases to one or another of such programs is lexicalised. By specifying that any base can be used with either program, stylistic variants would be available and, in addition, the arbitrariness of the lexicon diminished. Thus, by specifying that adjective and intransitive verb bases can become abstract nominals by either zero-derivation or compounding with **-pasin** *'manner'*, a number of new variants of this class of derived nominals would become available. In addition, compounds at both word- and phrase-level could be allowed. Compare:

Present-day NGP	Proposed change	Gloss
pasin spak spakpasin	pasin spak spakpasin spak	*'drunkenness'*
strong	pasin strong strongpasin strong	*'strength'*
daunpasin	pasin daun daunpasin daun	*'humility'*
pasin nogut	pasin nogut nogutpasin nogut	*'bad behaviour, badness'*

iv) A final source for increased stylistic flexibility of the lexicon is conventions about the metaphorical use of language (tok piksa), such as have been discussed in subsection 4.8.4.2.

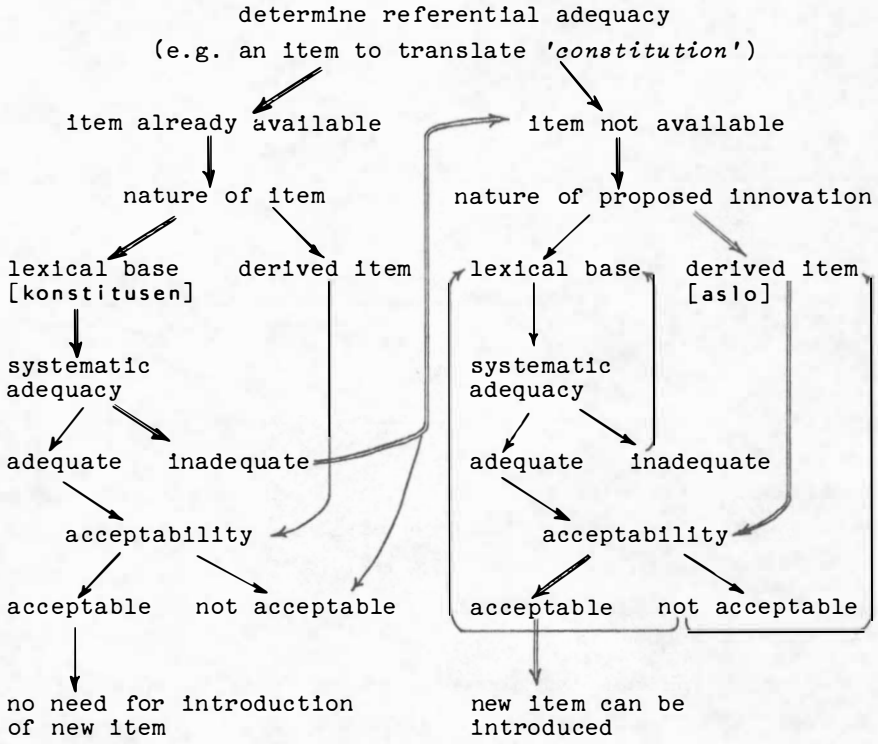
6.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The author feels that an evaluation of the present-day lexicon and an assessment of its growth tendencies lends support to the arguments of those who advocate vocabulary planning for NGP. In particular, vocabulary planning must find answers to the problems of increasing divergence of the social and regional varieties of NGP and the need to have at hand a lexicon capable of meeting the referential requirements of a number of new situational contexts.

Vocabulary planning in the past has often been haphazard, *ad hoc*, and limited to geographically restricted varieties of the language. One of its main shortcomings has been that it was based on the assumption that the lexicon was an unstructured list of items to which new items could be added at will. The failure of vocabulary planning in the past has led to suspicion and antipathy towards language planning in general in some circles.

However, past failures need not be a deterrent and, with progress in the theory of vocabulary planning and with a better knowledge of NGP's lexical structures at hand, the chances that NGP's lexicon can be successfully standardised and expanded are excellent. A precondition for scientific vocabulary planning is the adherence to a well-ordered set

of evaluation and decision procedures. Thus, the introduction of a new lexical item would involve the following steps:



The double arrows indicate the steps involved in the hypothetical decision to replace an existing base konstitusen with a newly developed compound aslo *'fundamental law, constitution'*.

Progress in the description of syntactic and lexical structures in recent years, the creation of the Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu Research Unit at the University of Papua New Guinea, and growing concern for NGP among the population of Papua New Guinea have created a climate in which language planning may soon become a reality.

The present chapter is meant to show that planning can be carried out without changing the basic character of NGP. However, its future will have to be determined by the wishes of its speakers.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.1. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This book has been an attempt to give an observationally adequate account of the development of NGP's linguistic structures throughout its life-cycle to the present day. The demonstration that the linguistic development of its lexical component must be conceived as a sequence of at least partly discrete stages of change, appears to be equally applicable to other components of NGP's grammar.

Contrary to what has often been believed, evidence about earlier stages of NGP is obtainable, the main sources being 1) a large corpus of written data, 2) the fossilised regional variety of Samoan Plantation Pidgin, and 3) the marginal varieties of NGP, particularly those used by old speakers and speakers in recently contacted areas. The notion that the linguistic history of a pidgin or creole is found synchronically in its social and regional varieties is borne out in this study of NGP. In fact, it appears that a fuller account of NGP's linguistic development can be given than is the case with most other pidgins and creoles.

In view of the fact that NGP could prove to be a crucial test case for the theories of pidgin and creole languages, it is essential to provide detailed documentation of its development. It is for this reason that the author has aimed at attaining a level of observational adequacy for a small subcomponent of NGP grammar rather than presenting a more comprehensive speculative account. For this reason, inductive generalisations play an important part in the present study. At the same time, the data underlying such generalisations have been used to test a number of hypotheses about the nature of pidgins and creoles in general and NGP in particular.

Particular conclusions can be subdivided into those which refer to NGP's external setting and those referring to its linguistic nature. These will now be listed.

7.2. FINDINGS ABOUT THE EXTERNAL SETTING OF NGP

i) The development of a stable variety of Pidgin English in the Bismarck Archipelago must be described as part of the development of Melanesian Pidgin English as a whole. Many linguistic conventions must be regarded as imports rather than independent developments.

ii) NGP is related to other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English via 1) Pacific Jargon English used by sailors and traders prior to stabilisation, and 2) the employment of Melanesians from various areas in certain plantation centres.

iii) Workers from the Bismarck Archipelago were employed in Samoa and Queensland. Employment on the Samoan Plantations was of particular importance, since it lasted from 1879 to 1913 and involved a substantial part of the NGP speaking community.

iv) The development of the specifically New Guinean variety of NGP is the result of the establishment of German rule and a plantation economy in German New Guinea. The presence of the German administration also provided the situational stimuli for NGP's geographical spread and functional expansion.

v) Contrary to what is commonly believed, no policies aimed at replacing NGP with German or a local vernacular were found before 1900. The *laissez-faire* attitude in language matters only gave way to policies aimed at replacing NGP towards the end of German control.

vi) The failure to exterminate NGP in German New Guinea resulted from the attitudes of its users. In fact, practical considerations have overruled official language policies throughout the history of this language.

vii) The presence of an Australian administration and the events of World War II resulted in changes in the patterns of NGP's transmission and its eventual diversification into regional and social varieties.

viii) The development of regional varieties is related to 1) the opening up of the interior of Papua New Guinea, and 2) the shift of economic activities from the New Guinea islands to the mainland. The emergence of pronounced social varieties is a result of social changes, in particular the breakdown of rigid social stratification, after 1945.

ix) Present-day NGP comprises two main sociolects, Rural Pidgin and Urban Pidgin, as well as two fringe varieties, Tok Masta and Bush Pidgin. In addition, creolised varieties of NGP are found in a number of discrete geographic and social contexts.

x) A distinction must be made between creolisation as an individual and as a social phenomenon. Sizeable first-language NGP speech communities only appeared after World War II.

xi) For the majority of second-language NGP speakers this language is in a diglossic relationship with their first language. Creolisation, particularly in rural settings, is often preceded by a period of functional expansion of NGP and functional recession of the traditional vernaculars.

xii) In contrast with some pidgins, NGP has come to fulfil functions other than communication, in particular those of self-expression, taboo and magic, linguistic play, and social control. The use of NGP in these domains is one of the criteria for referring to it as an expanded pidgin.

7.3. FINDINGS ABOUT THE LINGUISTIC NATURE OF NGP

i) Any linguistic description of NGP which insists on a strict separation of its synchronic and diachronic aspects or which attempts to arrive at a common core grammar abstracted from variants of NGP found along the social and geographic axes, will fail to adequately describe significant parts of its grammar.

ii) A common core grammar, in particular, cannot be written for areas such as lexical field semantics or phonology where structures from different varieties can be in direct conflict.

iii) The study of NGP should not be restricted to that of abstract linguistic structures. Instead, its linguistic properties should be embedded in and meaningfully related to the socio-historical setting of this language.

iv) The diachronic development of NGP can be thought of as proceeding in a number of discrete stages, each of which is characterised by certain external conditions and by a number of salient structural properties. NGP's life cycle comprises the jargon, stabilisation, expansion, creolisation and post-pidgin stages.

v) Apart from being different in expressive power these stages also differ with regard to their internal stability. The jargon and post-pidgin stages exhibit a great amount of variation because of the absence of firm linguistic norms.

vi) The linguistic development of NGP through its life cycle is manifested in the increase of derivational depth at all levels of grammar. The present study demonstrates this for the lexical component.

vii) Progress in the study of the syntactic development of pidgins and creoles has not been paralleled by similar progress in the study of their lexical structures. This is due to an unnecessarily restrictive view of the lexicon as a list of words or an inventory of irregularities.

viii) A strong argument can be made in favour of recognising the lexicon as a separate component of grammar. The lexical component can be subdivided into a lexical base component containing all unpredictable lexical information, a lexical redundancy component, and a derivational component which specifies the derivational relationship between morphologically related lexical items. In addition, there is a need for a device specifying the organisation of both lexical bases and derived lexical items in semantic fields.

ix) The notion that lexical items from different varieties and stages of a language are related in that they share certain aspects of lexical information allows the specification of similarities and differences across temporal, social, and geographical variants which can only be inadequately characterised by the use of the concept 'word'. In addition, the notion of lexical information makes it possible to explicitly spell out differences between derivationally or otherwise related lexical items. At the same time, it can be used in describing the process of lexical borrowing in general and in determining the relationship between lexical items of a pidgin and those of its lexifier languages in particular.

x) The lexical information found in most NGP lexical items differs from that found in its lexifier languages in that 1) only a subset of the total lexical information is borrowed, and 2) lexical information is added in conformity with the lexical patterns of NGP. This means that statements that the lexicon of NGP is composed mainly of English words fail to be an adequate characterisation for the relationship between these two languages.

xi) Lexical information of individual NGP items can frequently be traced back to more than one lexifier language, resulting in various types of syncretisms. This again weakens the notion of an English affiliation of NGP's lexicon.

xii) NGP differs from English and other lexifier languages not only with regard to the lexical information of lexical bases but to an even greater degree with regard to derived lexical information. The conventions for deriving new lexical information are specific to the grammar

of NGP, and a significant proportion of lexical redundancy rules and derivational programs can be shown to be independent developments.

xiii) Because the lexical system of present-day NGP is largely independent from its original lexifier languages, not all loans from English and other sources can be integrated with equal ease. The observations made about the disintegration of lexical structures in anglicised Urban Pidgin are of relevance to vocabulary planning for NGP.

xiv) The expressive power not only of creolised NGP but also of fluent second-language NGP appears to be equal to that of other human languages. The view that NGP is an impoverished and inflexible form of speech is quite mistaken. NGP's derivational lexicon, in particular, contains the potential for the creation of a vast number of new lexical items to meet future referential and stylistic needs.

Whilst these findings are specific to the grammar of NGP, it is to be expected that many of them will also be of relevance to the wide field of pidgin and creole studies. It is hoped, in particular, that fresh attention will be paid to the lexicon of these languages and to the interaction between their linguistic structures and socio-historical settings.

APPENDIX

ORIGINALS OF GERMAN QUOTATIONS

p.60 Genthe (1908:10)

Mich dünkt, allein die Aussicht, diese Sprache täglich hören und sprechen zu können, verlohnt der Reise hierher und des Verkehrs mit den schwarzen Boys. Vom sprachpsychologischen Standpunkt aus gibt es kaum etwas Fesselnderes als dies stammelnde Bemühen jener Wilden, die auf wenige Jahre - während ihres Arbeitsvertrags auf den Pflanzungen - den vorsintflutlichen Zuständen ihrer Urwaldheimat entrissen werden, sich in der fremdartigen Welt des Weissen sprachlich zurechtzufinden, um den neuen unfassbaren Dingen der europäischen Kulturwelt, der ihrigen um Jahrtausende voraus, zu begegnen mit neugeformten Wortungeheuern aus jenem Schatze von etwa 300 Begriffen, die ihnen die Berührung mit den Europäern gebracht hat.

p.68 Jung (1885:284)

Man hat daher deutscherseits bereits begonnen, an geeigneten Punkten Arbeiterdepots anzulegen, auf denen Arbeiter aus einer Gruppe angesammelt werden, bis das dazu bestimmte Schiff sie abholt. Solch ein Depot hat man auf Mioko in der Duke-of-York Gruppe errichtet. Ein Schuner ist beständig beschäftigt, Leute im jetzigen Bismarck-Archipel anzuwerben und hierher zu bringen, mehrere grössere Schiffe sind dazu bestimmt, die Arbeiter nach Samoa auszuführen.

p.72 *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (1913:30/24:406)

Trotz der Jungfräulichkeit des Landes hinsichtlich weisser Besucher waren mehrere etwas Pidgin-Englisch radebrechende Eingeborene vorhanden, die vordem als Arbeiter auf Pflanzungen im Archipel und auf Samoa ihre Kenntnisse erworben hatten.

p.72 Stephan and Graebner (1907:21)

Jonni, etwa 26 Jahre alt, stammte von der Ostküste der Landschaft Laur, war schon als Knabe nach Samoa gekommen, hatte als Matrose und Plantagenarbeiter gedient, ...

p.73 *Samoan Times* (March 6, 1916)

Aus der hohen Schule als Plantagenarbeiter auf Samoa mit allerlei Kenntnissen, darunter auch Pidjin-Englisch, heimgekehrt, führte ihn dann sein Unternehmungsgeist nach Neu-Irland zu einem weissen Händler.

p.73 Krämer-Bannow (1916:20)

Im übrigen war man auf das greuliche, unvollkommene Pidjin-Englisch des Bismarck-Archipels angewiesen, von dem durch zurückgekehrte Arbeiter auch hierher einige Kenntnis gedrungen war. De waren die Häuptlinge der Nachbardörfer: Tamapipe von Kambitengteng, Toelilian von Piglinbui und Anis von Tano, der Arbeiter in Samoa gewesen war, nebst einigen anderen Leuten, die sich notdürftig in Pidjin ausdrücken konnten.

p.73 Jung (1885:298)

Man hätte in Neu-Britannien auch gleich einen Stab geschulter Arbeiter, welche ihre Lehrzeit auf den Plantagen von Samoa durchgemacht haben.

p.75 Wendtland (1939:76)

Im Umgang mit den Javanern bedienten sich die Europäer des Küstenmalaiisch ... Ebenso verstanden die meisten chinesischen Kulis, von denen viele früher in den Tabakplantagen auf Sumatra gearbeitet hatten, das Küstenmalaiisch, und die Melanesier lernten in Stephansort im Verkehr mit diesen Rassen bald soviel von dieser Sprache, dass das sonst überall in der Südsee gesprochene Pidgin-Englisch hier in Stephansort ziemlich in den Hintergrund trat.

p.75 Blum (1900:166)

Seitens der Regierungsbeamten wäre es unbedingt eine Pflichtverletzung, wenn ... die in Kaiser-Wilhelmsland Thätigen nicht das Küstenmalaiisch lernten.

p.78 Nolde (1966:65)

... trafen wir öfters einige der wilden Männer, welche mit dem Schiff mit uns zusammen angekommen waren .... Der Zweck ihres erzwungenen Aufenthalts in Rabaul war, sich ganz allmählich Verständigungsmöglichkeiten anzueignen, sei es in Gebärden, in dem üblichen „Pidgin-Englisch" oder in deutschen Begriffen und Worten. Wenn nach vielen Monaten dies ein wenig geschehen war, dann wurden sie wieder an ihre Plätze zurückbefördert, allerlei blinkendes Flitterzeug mitbringend. Die Heimgekehrten mussten Dolmetscherdienste leisten, wenn Agenten der Pflanzer Männer für die Arbeit in den Plantagen zu gewinnen suchten.

p.79 Friederici (1911:93)

... aber aus der jüngeren Generation wird aus praktischen Gründen im allgemeinen Niemand Luluai, Kukurai oder Tultul, der nicht Pidgin-Englisch verstände. Für den Luluai Panake von Lamassa war einer der Hauptgründe, die ihn veranlassten, mir seinen ältesten Sohn Borrôm mitzugeben, der Wunsch, dass dieser junge Mensch, sein voraussichtlicher Nachfolger, unter meinen Jungens das Pidgin-Englisch erlernte.

p.80 Friederici (1911:99)

Jeder Polizei-Junge und jeder Arbeiter kann am Ende seiner Dienstzeit Pidgin-Englisch sprechen.

p.81 Neuhauss (1911:184-5)

Zu den völlig abweichenden Rechtsanschauungen kommt bei Gerichtsverhandlungen noch als erschwerendes Moment die Sprache hinzu. Die Verhandlungen werden im Pidjin geführt, da der Beamte die Landessprache nicht versteht. Pidjin reicht nun vollständig aus um zu befehlen: tue dies, tue das, gehe dorthin, hole meine Flinte und dergl. Dies Kauderwelsch versagt aber vollständig, wenn es darauf ankommt, abstrakte Begriffe auszudrücken und verwickelte Situationen klar zu legen. Schliesslich bildet sich der Richter ein, dass durch die Verhandlung alles klar erwiesen sei, während die schwarze Partei an das bekannte Mühlrad in Goethes Faust denkt ....

Ganz abgesehen von der Schwierigkeit, sich in Pidjin richtig auszudrücken, wird der Schwarze auch durch die ganze Art der Gerichtsverhandlung so verwirrt, dass er über die einfachsten Vorfälle keine klaren Angaben mehr zu machen vermag.

p.83 Friederici (1911:93)

Niemand wird sich brauchbar in ihr verständigen können, der sich einbilden wollte, sie lediglich von einem anderen Europäer lernen zu können.

p.85 Brenninkmeyer (1924:1)

Von Jahr zu Jahr nähert sich diese internationale Verkehrssprache immer mehr dem reinen English.

p.104 Oertzen (1885:346)

Auch Kirche, Schule und Sprache richten sich nach der Nationalität der ersten Missionäre, die bis jetzt in der Südsee fast immer die englische war, während von deutscher Seite in dieser Beziehung nichts geleistet ist. Auf den Duke of York-Inseln sind zwei englische Wesleyan Missionäre und in der Umgegend von Matupi zwei französische Jesuiten, ...

p.105 Hernsheim (1883:50)

Wie ein Kind seine jüngst gelernte Lection herzusagen liebt, erzählte er uns: "O me know plenty, me know 'Merika, me know Jesus Christ, me know million! Before no know nothing, now missionary this place, me know - all!".

p.107 *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (1913:30/21:344)

... so birgt andererseits die Ausbreitung des Pidgin-Englisch politisch grosse Gefahren in sich, namentlich wenn sonst noch im Verkehre der Weissen untereinander das Englische vorherrschend ist, wie z.B. in Deutsch-Neuguinea, insbesondere aber im Bismarck-Archipel. Ist es etwa nicht bedenklich, dort das Englische bei der Nähe von Australien, wo man immer noch begehrlich die Augen auf diese deutsche Kolonie gerichtet hält, zur Verkehrssprache zu erheben?

p.107-8 *Samoanische Zeitung* (October 12, 1912)

Unsere Südseenachbarn, die Australier, lachen darüber, dass in Deutsch-Neuguinea allerorten englisch gesprochen wird. Mit Recht! Andere können es dort nicht verwinden und ärgern sich gelb, dass Deutschland jenes Gebiet sich angeeignet hat. Dies aber, wie es scheint, durchaus mit Unrecht! Oder welcher klug berechnende Engländer wird sich nicht vergnügt

ins Fäustchen lachen, wenn er sieht, wie der biedere deutsche Michel durch die unentwegte Pflege der englischen Sprache dem Handel und der Politik John Bulls mit soviel Eifer, Ausdauer und Selbstlosigkeit tätigen Vorspann leistet! Wer das Anwachsen und Fortwuchern des genannten Übels ohne Vorurteil und offenen Auges betrachtet, dem drängt sich fast die Erkenntnis auf, dass, wenn alle Deutschen in unserer Südsee samt und sondere im englischen Solde ständen, sie nicht wirkungsvoller und nachhaltiger den englischen Kaufleuten in die Hände arbeiten könnten, als sie es durch die Förderung der englischen Sprache bis jetzt dort getan und noch immerfort tun.

p.108 Krämer-Bannow (1916:263)

Zum Schluss möchte ich noch einen persönlichen Wunsch äussern, nämlich den, dass an Stelle des Pidjin-Englisch in allen unseren Kolonien Deutsch zur Verkehrssprache erhoben würde.

p.109 von Hesse-Wartegg (1902:53)

Und wer sie auch nur einmal gehört hat, der wird den sehnlichen Wunsch hegen, dass dieser Unsinn baldigst durch vernünftiges Deutsch ersetzt werde.

p.109 Blum (1900:166)

Die genauere Forschung wird zweifellos zeigen, dass die viel berufene Vielsprachigkeit Neu=Guineas im wesentlichen nur eine Mannigfaltigkeit von Mundarten ist und eine oder mehrere derselben werden je nach den Verkehrszentren oder den Hauptanwerbegebieten allmählich die Oberhand gewinnen.

p.110 Friederici (1911:95)

Wie sollen nun Weisse und Schwarze die To-Sprache lernen? Man kann doch dem ein hartes Brod erntenden Pflanzer und seinen im Schweisse ihres Angesichts schaffenden Arbeiter nicht zumuten, nach vollbrachtem Tagewerk in die Schule zu gehen! Selbst im Missions-Plantagenbetrieb kommt kein Mensch den Hunderten von Pflanzungsarbeitern mit der Schule. Der Arbeiter schafft am Tage für seinen Herrn und erwirbt für ihn; nach getanem Dienst isst er, schläft er, macht Sing-Sing oder macht Liebe. Selbst der freie Faullenzer und Zeittotschläger im heimatlichen Dorf ist höchstens für eine viertel Stunde geistiger Arbeit zu gebrauchen; was soll man da von dem geplagten Arbeiter verlangen! Mit der Schule ist es also nichts. Um nun andrerseits die gewünschte To-Sprache, oder irgend eine andere, in derselben Weise zu verbreiten, wie sich das Pidgin-Englisch ganz von selbst verbreitet, nämlich durch den täglichen Verkehr der schwarzen Jungens in dieser einen, allein für Alle verständlichen Sprache, dazu fehlen die lehrenden To-Leute und dazu ist das Pidgin-Englisch schon zu sehr in Aller Munde.

p.110 Friederici (1911:97)

Die grosse Schwierigkeit der Erlernung dieser Sprache für die Eingebornen und die Unbequemlichkeit nach allgemein gewordener Kenntnis des Deutschen, keine Sprache mehr für die Herrenrasse zur Verfügung zu haben, in der man nicht von unbefugten Eingebornen verstanden oder belauscht werden könne. Die Regierung steht wohl nur zum Teil hinter dieser Auffassung, der aber viele Beamte und sicherlich ein grosser Teil der alten Ansiedler beitreten.

p.110 Walther (1911:99)

Dass der Deutsche, den der Farbige mit Deutsch anspricht, mit einer Ohrfeige quittiert, ist eine Ausnahmeerscheinung und eine Überspannung des Herrengefühls.

p.110-11 *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* (1903:45,455)

Man bezeichnet es als unmöglich, den Arbeiter oder Diener die Sprache des Arbeitsgebers oder Herrn sprechen zu lassen, weil man sonst nicht jederzeit unter sich ungestört sprechen könne über Dinge, die der Arbeiter oder Diener nicht hören soll. Mit Bezug auf die Interessen des Deutschtums muss diese Ansicht kurzsichtig genannt werden. Aber sie wirkt auch gradezu gefährlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass selbst das eifrigste Bestreben, das Deutsche für Privatgespräche zu reservieren und im öffentlichen Verkehr auszuschliessen, nicht verhindern konnte, dass die eingeborenen Arbeiter und Diener selbst der Erlernung der Sprache ihres Herrn die grösste Aufmerksamkeit schenken und wo sie können, etwas abzulauschen suchen. Sie verstehen - abgesehen davon dass einzelne sogar die deutsche Sprache vollkommen zu beherrschen gelernt haben - meist einige Brocken deutsch, die genügen, um grade das, was vor ihnen, ohne dass sie es verstehen sollen, gesprochen wird, recht gut verstehen - also auch mit diesem Einwand ist es nichts.

p.111 *Samoanische Zeitung* (October 12, 1912)

Der jetzige Gouverneur hat sich verschiedentlich bestrebt, den ansässigen Deutschen für den Umgang und Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen die deutsche Sprache eindringlich zu empfehlen. Vergebliche Liebesmühe! Da müsste man die vornehme Natur der Deutschen schlecht kennen. "Store" klingt doch ohne Vergleich nobler als "Lager". Und wer es einmal dahin brachte, die Bedeutung des klangvollen Lautes "beach" (bitsch) zu erfassen, der wird doch nicht mehr so beschränkt sein, und jemals wieder von "strand" oder "Gestade" zu reden. In einer Gesellschaft von vier bis fünf Deutschen, die alle englisch mehr oder weniger schlecht beherrschen, braucht nur ein einziger Englishman zu erscheinen, und alle halten sich für verpflichtet, die Unterhaltung alsbald nur in englisch weiterzuführen. Noblesse oblige!

p.112 Kleintitschen (1906:179)

Die gemeinschaftlichen Bestrebungen des Gouvernements und de Missionen, das Pidginenglisch durch die Sprache der Küstenbewohner zu ersetzen, sind leider gescheitert. Eine eigens zu diesem Zwecke einberufene Versammlung lehnte mit Mehrheit den Vorschlag ab und sprach sich für die Beibehaltung des letzteren aus .... Da die Hauptschwierigkeit, der Widerstand der Ansiedler nicht überwunden werden kann, wird das Pidginenglisch wohl die Umgangssprache bleiben, aber sicherlich nicht zur Förderung des Deutschtums.

p.113 Hollrung (1888:340)

Bemühungen, den Eingeborenen die deutsche Sprache zu lehren sind bisher weder von den Missionen noch von den Stationsbeamten gemacht worden. Dagegen ist das sogenannte Pitschen-Englisch unter den Kanaken der Gazelle-Halbinsel vielfach verbreitet.

p.113 Friederici (1911:94)

Als die Neu-Guinea-Kompagnie die Landeshoheit übernahm, fand sie das Pidgin-English vor und stand als Vertreterin des Deutschen Reiches vor einer Aufgabe, die damals wohl nicht schwer im nationalen Sinne zu lösen gewesen wäre. Aber es geschah nichts in dieser Richtung, oder so gut wie nichts.

p.114 von Hesse-Wartegg (1902:54)

Mögen doch die Deutschen in der Südsee ihrer Muttersprache Anerkennung verschaffen und zu ihrer Verbreitung dadruch beitragen, dass sie sich im Verkehr mit den Eingeborenen nach Thunlichkeit der deutschen Sprache bedienen, anfänglich nur einzelne Bezeichnungen, dann allmählich immer mehr, wenn auch nur eine Art von Pidgin-Deutsch zur Einführung bringen, bis der Nachwuchs aus den deutschen Eingeborenenschulen da ist. Dann ist der schwierige Anfang überstanden, und ein grosses Gebiet der Südsee wird als Verkehrssprache immer mehr die deutsche Sprache gebrauchen.

p.114 Hahl (1913)

... allein aus diesem äusseren Aufbau des Missionswerkes ergibt sich, dass die leitenden Gedanken für die Schulung des Volkes nicht nach einheitlichen Plänen gestaltet sein können. Die Verschiedenheit des Personals nach Nationalität und Bekenntnis vertieft diese vorhandene Ungleichheit. Wenn die Unterrichtserteilung wirksam sein soll, so muss sie nach einheitlichen Gesichtspunkten gestaltet werden.

p.114 Hahl (1913)

Der Schulunterricht gewinnt aber für uns noch eine weitere Bedeutung, die wir in den Schulen, die Lehranstalten, gewinnen wollen, um unserer Sprache bei den Eingeborenen anstelle des Pidschen-Englisch zur Herrschaft zu verhelfen. Die Durchsetzung unserer Sprache im Verkehr mit dem Volke bedeutet auch die Vorherrschaft unserer Eigenart soweit sie den Eingeborenen zugänglich sein wird. Ohne Deutsch im Verkehr mit dem Eingeborenen werden wir dagegen auf seine Gewinnung für unsere Anschauung und Denkweise auf allen Lebensgebieten verzichten müssen ....

Nach meinen Darlegungen soll demnach der Unterricht auf den Lebensverhältnissen der Eingeborenen beruhen, ihnen aber auch das Verständnis für unsere Kultur eröffnen. Als die nächsten Ziele werden bezeichnet: Die Hebung der ursprünglichen Eingeborenenkultur und die Verbreitung des Deutschen als Verkehrsprache.

p.116 Neuhaus (1911:120)

Die Neuendettelsauer Missionare waren mit Erfolg bemüht, das Sprachengewirr ihres Wirkungskreises dadurch zu vereinfachen, dass sie zonenweise eine einheitliche Unterrichtssprache einführten. Als Sprache für die melanesischen Küstenvölker wurde Jabim gewählte. Da die Bukaua-Sprache hiervon dialektisch nur wenig abweicht und von den Bukaua-Leuten das Jabim leicht erlernt wird, bildet für den ganzen Bezirk, welcher nördlich von Finschhafen beginnt und an der Mündung des Franziskaflusses am Huongolf endet, jetzt das Jabim die Verkehrs- und Unterrichtssprache. Wahrscheinlich wird sich dieser Bezirk allmählich bis in die Nähe der englischen Grenze ausdehnen lassen ....

Auf jeden Fall muss die künstliche Einführung einer gemeinsamen Sprache als Glanzleistung bezeichnet werden, denn der Papua ist konservativ und hängt am Alten mit grosser Zähigkeit.

p.116 Klarentius (1909-10:110)

... vorwiegender Gebrauch des unerträglichen Pidjin Englisch.

p.116 *Steyler Missionsbote* (1910:11/89)

... die katholische Mission leistet aber auch noch eine andere, und weil sie lediglich deutsche Interessen fördert, nicht hoch genug anzuschlagende Kulturarbeit. Sie hat es sich zum Grundsatz genommen, mit ihren 300 bis 400 schwarzen Schülern und Arbeitern nur Deutsch zu sprechen und dadurch das grässliche Pidgin-English zu verdrängen. Und sie tut es mit absolutem Erfolg ....

p.117 Neuhauss (1911:121)

Die katholischen Missionen unterrichten ihre Zöglinge in der deutschen Sprache; doch beschränken sich diese Kenntnisse, so weit ich mich davon überzeugen konnte, auf das Hersagen von Sprüchen und Liedern. Es blieb mir ganz unmöglich, mich auf Deutsch mit diesen Zöglingen auch nur über die einfachsten Fragen zu verständigen. Im Verkehr mit den Lehrern, wobei es sich um täglich wiederkehrende Dinge handelt, mag dies etwas besser gehen und vereinzelte Ausnahmen kommen gewiss vor. Als Verkehrssprache ist die deutsche Sprache aber gänzlich ungeeignet; dafür ist sie zu verwickelt und enthält ausserdem Laute, welche der Eingeborene schwer aussprechen kann.

p.117 Kleintitschen (1914:66)

Leider konnten wir mit den Leuten uns in ihrer Sprache nicht verständigen. Aber deswegen stockte die Unterhaltung nicht. Sie wurde in dem viel geschmähten Pidgin-Englisch geführt. Es mag ja zu bedauern sein, dass diese fremde Sprache in einer dt. Kolonie als Umgangssprache dient. Aber wie die Verhältnisse im Archipel nun einmal liegen, ist dieses Kauderenglisch ein notwendiges Übel, dem der einzelne sich volens nolens anpassen muss. Es ist auf allen Inseln unserer Südseekolonie verbreitet, so dass man überall mit dem Kanakenenglisch fertig wird und sich mit wildfremden Eingeborenen verständigen kann ....

p.117 *Missionshefte* (1910:27/542)

Ich machte eine lange Reise nach den Salomon-Inseln .... Auf derselben Reise lande ich auf einer Insel und höre, dass ein Häuptling dem Sterben nahe sei. Ich besuche ihn und finde ihn ... in einem Zustand, der an dem baldigen Tod keinen Zweifel liess. Pidgin-Englisch versteht der Mann, und so kann ich ihn, trotzdem mir seine Sprache völlig unbekannt ist, notdürftig unterrichten und taufen ....

p.119 *Samoanische Zeitung* (October 12, 1912)

Alle Masters sprechen englisch, englisch die Soldaten, die Arbeiteraufseher, die Dorfvorsteher, kurz gerade alle diejenigen sprechen englisch, zu welchen das Volk hinaufschaut und von denen es seine nächsten Vorteile erwartet .... Soll jemand Aufseher werden bei der Arbeit oder Vorsteher in einem Dorfe, so heisst es stets: Wer versteht Pigeon-Englisch? Wer immer in der deutschen Südsee zu Besserm voranschreiten will, wer seine Rechte verfechten, seine Person zur Geltung bringen, wer ein Amt, einen Posten erlangen, seine Ware anbieten, Handel treiben, den eigenen Besitz und Wohlstand mehren will, diese alle sehen die Kenntnis des Pigeon-English als unerlässliche Vorbedingung an.

p.119 *Samoanische Zeitung* (October 12, 1912)

In den Erziehungsanstalten der Hauptstation ist das Deutsch mit Not zur leidlichen Anerkennung und Vorherrschaft gelangt. An den anderen Orten wird auch etwas Deutsch gesprochen, solange der Lehrer oder Lehrerin in der Nähe ist. Zehn Schritte weiter aber kann man hören und sehen: "Me no like Deutsch! Me like talk all the same Germans, all the same policemen." (Ich mag kein Deutsch. Ich will sprechen wie die "Germans", wie die Soldaten). So spricht man eben englisch und immer wieder englisch. Ist dies für sie ja doch die Sprache der Deutschen, die einzige Sprache, womit sie etwas erreichen können.

p.125 Müller (1932:133)

Im Jahre 1928 fing man damit an, in Vunapope Sonntags einen eigenen Gottesdienst für die Arbeiter zu halten, zu dem sich die Arbeiter aus der ganzen Umgegend zahlreich einfinden. Gebete und Gesänge, natürlich auch die Predigt, sind in Pidginenglisch (Tokboi) gehalten. Diese Einrichtung erleichtert nicht nur den katholischen Arbeitern die Erfüllung ihrer religiösen Pflichten, sie ist auch ein Mittel, den katholischen Glauben in Gegenden bekanntzumachen, in die bisher noch kein Missionar gekommen ist.

p.125 Hüskes (1932:191)

Die verbreitetste Allgemeinsprache ist augenblicklich das Pidginenglisch. Die Patres in Manus haben sie dort mit Erfolg im Unterricht und in der Katechese angewendet, weil die grosse Zersplitterung in zahlreiche Dialekte den Gebrauch einer Eingeborenensprache bei der dortigen Bevölkerung unwirksam machte. Deshalb haben sie sich darauf verlegt, das Pidgin-englisch genauer zu erforschen, Grammatik und Wortschatz festzulegen und in Unterrichtsbüchern zu verwerten. Abgesehen von dem sprachlichen Interesse rechtfertigte der grosse praktische Nutzen die aufgewandte Mühe. Sämtliche Arbeiter des Archipels sprechen dieses „Tokboi" genannte Pidginenglisch; ferner die meisten Engeborenen, besonders die der kleineren Stämme, im Verkehr mit Weissen und mit fremden Schwarzen.

p.127 Laufer (1961:234)

In den vierziger Jahren gewann das Pidgin mehr und mehr die Oberhand über das Guantuna als Unterrichtssprache, weil man mit seiner Hilfe allmählich auf das reine Englisch überschwenken wollte.

p.172 Schnee (1904:305)

Der Fall, dass ein Buka (Salomonsinsulaner) eine Neumecklenburgerin heiratete oder ein Nordneumecklenburger ein Mädchen von Südneumecklenburg oder Neupommern, deren Sprache er nicht verstand, kam häufig vor. Doch ist mir nicht ein einziger Fall bekannt geworden, in dem der Mann die Sprache der Frau oder die Frau die des Mannes erlernt hätte. Zur Verständigung zwischen beiden diente lediglich das Pidginenglisch. Gewöhnlich waren die Ehen allerdings nur für die Dauer der Anwerbezeit geschlossen, nach Ablauf der drei Jahre zog jeder von beiden in seine eigene Heimat zurück. Kinder wurden aus solchen Ehen nur sehr selten geboren.

p.172 Janssen (1932:150)

Der traurigen Lage dieser Kinder gegenüber konnte die Mission nicht gleichgültig bleiben. Sie begann, sie zu sammeln; und als sich ihre Zahl

immer mehr vermehrte, gründete sie 1897 eine eigene Anstalt, wo sie von den Schwestern erzogen werden sollten. Das war nun ein recht schwieriges. Unternehmen. Die Weissen sind im allgemeinen der Sprache der Eingeborenen unkundig und bedienen sich im Verkehr mit ihnen des Pidginenglisch, der Arbeitersprache, die ein Gemisch von verdorbenem Englisch und einheimischen Dialekten ist. Die Mischlinge sprechen meist nur dieses Pidginenglisch mit einigen Brocken der von der Mutter gehörten Eingeborenensprache, die natürlich nach deren Heimat verschieden ist. Bei ihrer Ankunft auf der Missionsstation vermögen sie sich deshalb kaum verständlich zu machen.

p.181 Zöller (1891:416)

Es gibt drei Stufen des Eindringens in fremde Sprachen. Die erste und niedrigste Stufe, die wir im gelehrten Europa kaum kennen, die aber im Verkehr des weissen Menschen mit Angehörigen der farbigen Rassen viel häufiger als die zweite Stufe beobachtet wird, umfasst bloss eine mehr oder minder eingeschränkte Kenntnis des Wortschatzes.

p.184-5 Schellong (1934:98)

Der Volksstamm, der bei dem Zusammentreffen verschiedener Inselbewohner gerade das numerische Übergewicht bekommen. Kapitäne und Steuerleute haben an dieser Sprachverwirrung ihren Spass, hören das eine oder das andere kuriose Wort und wenden es statt des englischen auch selbst mal an. So heisst es auf unserem Kutter jetzt nie anders als „quillequille" statt „quick", „kai, kai" statt „eat", „bulemakau" statt „meat" und so weiter.

p.185 Nevermann (1929:254-5)

Die dem Pidjin anhaftende unfreiwillige Komik hat die Weissen in der Südsee dazu gereizt, ihr Teil zur Verstärkung dieser Komik beizutragen.

p.194 Nevermann (1929:253)

Der Einfluss dieser Engeborenensprache auf die Gestaltung des Pidjin ist daraus zu erklären, dass in ihrem Geltungsbereich die ersten Plantagen und Regierungs- und Handelsstationen errichtet wurden, z.B. in Mioko, Herbertshöhe, Kerawara, Matupi und Ralum.

p.195 Nevermann (1929:253)

Demgemäss kehren in der Verkehrssprache unveränderte Worte der Gazellesprache wieder. Dazu gehören: murup 'Kasuar'; kiau 'Ei'; kapul 'Opossum'; pukpuk 'Krokodil'; limlibur 'spazieren gehen, nichts tun'; tübüran 'Teufel, Buschgeist'; davai 'Baum'; longlong 'verrückt'. Aus den verwandten Nachbarsprachen von Neu-Mecklenburg und Neu-Lauenburg stammen: liklik 'klein'; päkpäke 'Kot' usw.

p.200 Rossa (1972:34)

Pidgin ist eine Mischung aus dem melanesischen, englischen und deutschen Wortschatz. Die Namen für Werkzeuge und praktische Dinge etnahm man der deutschen Sprache.

p.218 Brenninkmeyer (o924:23)

Manchmal sind ähnlich klingende Wörter fälschlich als ein einziges aufgefasst, wie: pull - full, catch - fetch, work - walk, etc.

p.220 Nevermann (1929:253-4)

Manche Pidjinwörter, die auf den ersten Blick englisch zu sein scheinen, haben jedoch nur eine zufällige Ähnlichkeit mit ihm. So hat das Gazellesprachenwort kiap, 'Häuptling', nichts mit captain zu tun, sondern ist einheimisch. Pusi, 'Katze', scheint ebenfalls nicht mit engl. pussy zusammenzuhängen, sondern ist wohl samoanisch. Auch das Wort für 'Frau', mari oder meri, das gewöhnlich von dem bei Seeleuten beliebten Namen Mary abgeleitet wird, scheint mir eher mit dem Gazellesprachenwort mári 'lieben' oder mari 'schön, hübsch' zusammenzuhängen, wenn es nicht auf married zurückzuführen ist.

p.227 Daiber (1902:255)

Überhaupt fehlt dem Schwarzen nicht ein gewisser Sinn für Humor. Köstlich ist auch seine Bezeichnung für das erste Klavier, das nach der deutschen Südsee gebracht wurde. Es war ein Papua, der entsetzt erzählte von "big fellow box, white fellow master fight him plenty too much, he cry" (Von der grossen Schachtel, die der weisse Herr so sehr schlage, dass sie schreie). Seit jener Zeit heisst das Klavier im Pidgin=English "box belong cry", das ist: Schreischachtel oder Schreikiste.

p.228 Baessler (1895:23)

So entstehen oft ganze Sätze für ein Wort und der Neuling erfasst nicht immer sofort den tieferen Sinn.

p.230 Friederici (1911:100)

Auf dem Papier lässt sich nur schwer die Wirkung mancher komischer Redewendungen, erstaunlicher Umschreibungen, plötzlicher Ausrufe, wiedergeben. Es gehört dazu das Geberdenspiel des Melanesiers mit Mundwinkel, Nase, Augen und Stirn, seine unter Umständen unsagbar verächtliche Miene, sein kindliches Lachen, seine laute Aufgeregtheit.

p.230 Neuhauss (1911:221)

Der Wortschatz bleibt unglaublich dürftig .... Alle fehlenden Worte, also der grösste Teil aller Bezeichnungen, wird durch umständliche Umschreibungen ausgedrückt .... Wäre der Papua nicht an bilderreiche Ausdrucksweise gewöhnt und überdies ein schlauer Geselle, der sich überall zu helfen weiss, so hätte man das Pidjin niemals zu einer halbwegs brauchbaren Verkehrssprache ausbilden können.

p.230 Nevermann (1929:256)

Bei der Kleinheit des Wortschatzes ist es oft nötig, für neue Begriffe Umschreibungen anzuwenden, etwa für 'Halbmond' small fellow moon, für 'Bett' place belong sleep und für 'schreiben, malen, photographieren' make belong paper. Solche Neubildungen sind natürlich stark von der Individualität der Eingeborenen abhängig ....

p.259 Nevermann (1929:256)

wash wird wie das einheimische Wort iu (waschen) verdoppelt und entspricht nun iuiu (baden) als washwash.

p.286 *Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen* (n.d.:53)

-man als Suffix bei Verben bildet Substantiva actoris.

p.289 Brenninkmeyer (1924:1)

Von Jahr zu Jahr nähert sich diese internationale Verkehrssprache immer mehr dem reinen Englisch.

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PETER MÜHLHÄUSLER has been specialising in pidgin and creole languages at least since the time of his first degree (B.A.) in Afrikaans at the University of Stellenbosch. Subsequent thereto he studied general linguistics at the University of Reading and was awarded an M.A. and an M.Phil. after the submission of his thesis on 'Pidginization and Simplification of Language' (published as PACIFIC LINGUISTICS B.26, 1974). In 1976 he received a Ph.D. in the Department of Linguistics at the Australian National University, for the dissertation which forms the present volume. After graduation he worked for a year as a Research Assistant in the same Department before taking up a lecturing appointment at the Technische Universität, Berlin. He is now a Lecturer in General Linguistics at the University of Oxford.

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